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Maryland Historical Magazine



VIEW OF ANNAPOLIS IN 1797.

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ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND



VIEW OF ANNAPOLIS IN 1797.

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VIEW OF ANNAPOLIS IN 1797. ENTERED . . . 1871 BY CHASE & TOWN . . . WASHINGTON. Lithograph, printed in colors. 8.1 × 12.3 cm. From Lossing, *American Historical Record* (1872)1: front. MdHi.

The water color drawing of Comte de Maulevrier Colbert, a French visitor to Annapolis in 1797, was the basis for this anonymously lithographed panoramic view (c. 1871). It shows Annapolis as seen looking southeast from Strawberry Hill, now the site of the Naval Academy golf course. The old windmill (torn down 1808), shown at the left, gave its name to "Windmill Point," the small tip of land jutting into the Severn River which was once the site of Fort Severn but is now part of the Naval Academy. The cluster of buildings to its right are the Hammond-Harwood, Chase-Lloyd, and Ogle houses. Farther right, with domes, are McDowell Hall on the campus of St. John's College, and the State House. To the extreme right, with a square tower, is St. Anne's Episcopal Church.

Lossing, *American Historical Record*, 1: 42; "An Old Print of Annapolis, 1797," p. 129. V 52. Lois B. McCauley, *Maryland Historical Prints 1752 to 1889* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1975).



Annapolis, Maryland 1695–1730¹

NANCY T. BAKER

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND IS BEST KNOWN for a short period of great prosperity, its "Golden Age," characterized by the highest in fashion and greatest concentration of wealth, social activity and political influence that any area of the colony ever experienced in the colonial period. Popular histories and articles on culture and the decorative arts have so isolated life in the city in the years 1760–1776 as to make this period appear unique and largely unrelated to any patterns of growth and development over the years preceding it. In the last ten years this glittering era has been put into proper perspective,² been analyzed more with respect to what followed than what led to the phenomenon of economic prosperity. This paper looks at Annapolis over the years 1695–1730, tracing its early development from an inconsequential landing to a town of well-defined limits and proportions with a population grown in numbers, wealth and diversity in ways that can be measured against later activity.

On a spit of land along the north side of the Severn, where the river meets the bay, a small but determined group of men, women and children landed in December, 1649. These first settlers in Anne Arundel County were for the most part Virginians, modestly prosperous, who came in family groups with some experience in politics and planting. They came not to establish a town, but to plant. The enclosure that saw them through the first winter was abandoned as the settlers spread out into the countryside. While some took up land in Westminster Parish near the "Providence" settlement, others quickly chose land across the Severn River, in MIDDLENECK Parish, just south of

the present Annapolis. Here the soil was rich, well drained, easily worked and particularly well suited to the growing of the staple crop, tobacco. Still others took up equally advantageous tracts along the Chesapeake between the South River and Herring Bay in what became All Hallows and St. James Parishes.

Good soil, readily available water transportation and relatively high crop prices combined with self-sufficiency in planting, harvesting and packaging to make tobacco the dominant staple crop in Anne Arundel County well into the eighteenth century. Unlike grain production, which spins off independent support trades (millwrights, wheelrights, carters, etc.) and networks in the processing, handling and marketing phases, tobacco stimulates mostly the woodworking trades like carpentry and cooperage that are easily contained within the individual plantation unit. As long as tobacco production dominated the economy, the Tidewater did not develop population centers. Anne Arundel County was no exception. The tobacco crop was packed where produced and shipped directly from the plantation along navigable rivers out into the open bay.

Like some other early Maryland settlements, Annapolis had its beginnings not in a tobacco market, but in a boatyard where a shipwright made and repaired the river craft essential to his planter neighbors. Thomas Todd, one of the first group at "Providence," was a boatwright who in 1651 moved the mile or so across the Severn to a sheltered cove where he carried on his trade for twenty years. He planted as well, served as a local magistrate, and raised a second family of sons to join the older ones he had brought with him from Virginia. These young men

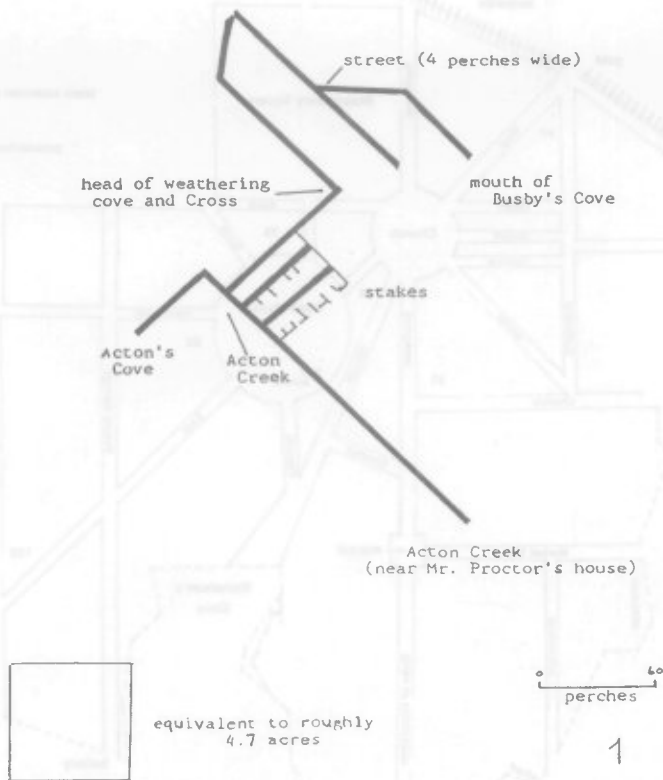


FIGURE 2. Arundelton, 1684

project, first “for want of some Large Paper to Draw the same On,” and in complying within a reasonable period.⁶ In fact, this survey of 1694 seems to have been ill-fated from the start. By 1697 it had been “spoyled in some parts by the Ratts,”⁷ was mended, and then burned along with a great many other public records in the State House fire of 1704. While no certificate of survey survives, deeds relating 1694 lot numbers to specific metes and bounds do make clear one critical point about the Nicholson plan for Annapolis. The great circles designed to contain the major public buildings—the State House and the Church—were laid out by Beard as part of the 1694 survey.⁸

The Nicholson plan was well suited to the topography of the site and expanded the total area of the 1683–84 plan to twice the original size. Evidence suggests that existing structures decided the orientation of the present North Street and

led to the awkward pieshaping of the lots along East Street.⁹ Much of the Nicholson plan was laid out over the higher, previously unimproved ground. Its more dramatic elements, the two circles, the radiating streets and “Bloomsbury Square” were actually and perhaps intentionally a creative means of expanding the city; placing public buildings in newly opened areas forced accompanying business and residential development.

By 1704, after ten years of settlement and many title transfers, the city had reached a point where its management was more properly and effectively a concern not of the provincial government but of its residents.

In 1708 the city obtained a charter and very soon thereafter commissioned another survey. No official mention of this survey survives because the early city records are gone, but evidence for its existence is clear. Comparative analysis of

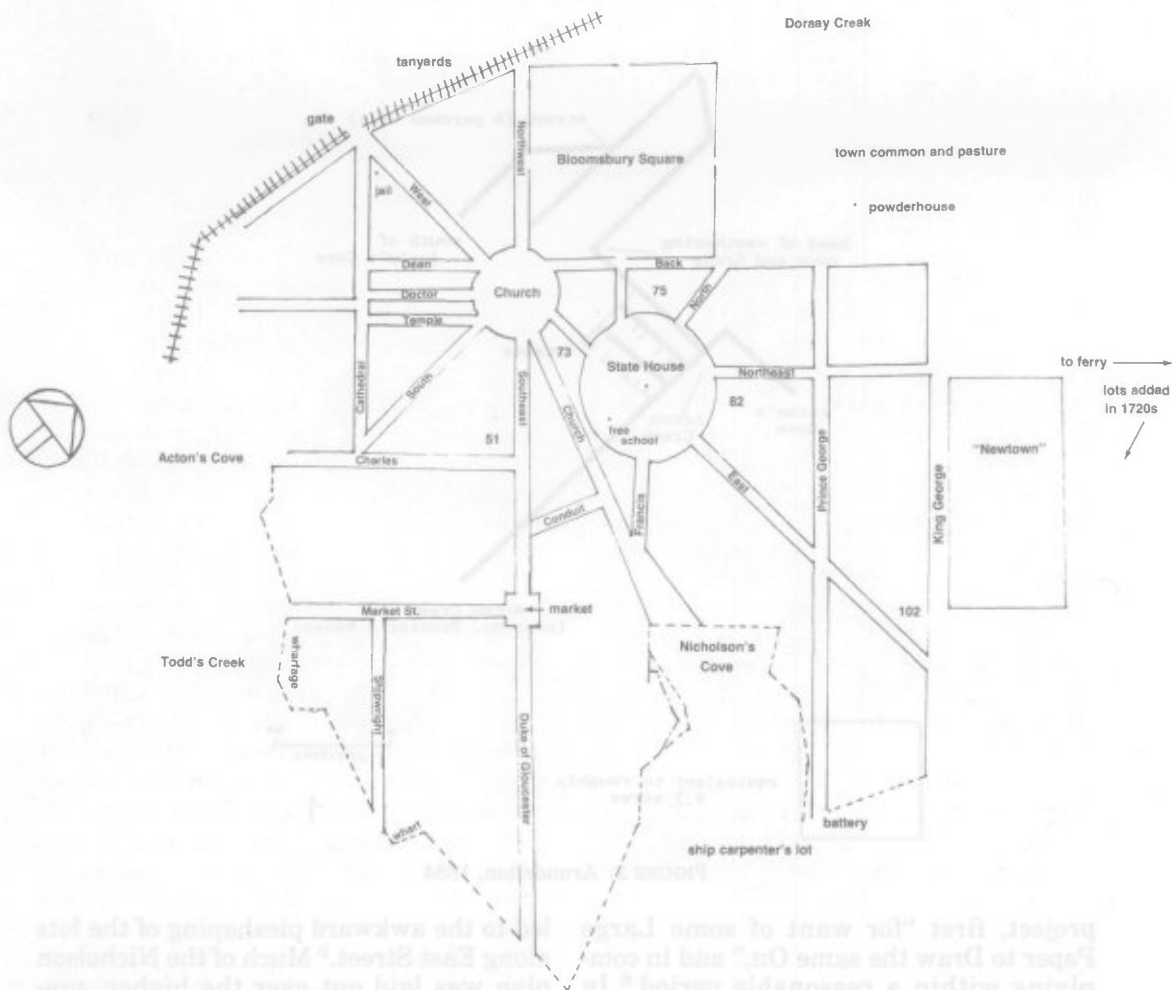


FIGURE 3. Francis Nicholson's Annapolis
Numbers refer to Stoddert lots mentioned in text.

surviving and re-recorded city deeds for the period 1694 to 1718 shows not two but three sets of numbering, the middle set beginning to appear about 1710. In 1718 James Stoddert made a fourth survey of the site, surviving in both map and text form, which became the basis for subsequent referencing of lot lines and for reconstruction of the prior surveys.¹⁰

Investment in city land underwent three phases before 1730. The first, lasting until about 1702, was a period of uncertainty when wealthy planter/merchants took up city lots and gradually disposed of them. So few title transfers survive for the period before the fire of 1704 that it is difficult both to recon-

struct the earliest body of property owners and to determine at what point all available lots had been taken up.

Like contemporary Yorktown,¹¹ Annapolis first attracted as residents the county planter/merchants whose families were long-time area residents who had a history of major political involvement. Richard Hill, Edward and John Dorsey, and William Hopkins, burgesses from Middleneck Parish, were among the first purchasers, as were Capt. William Holland, Col. Casparus Hermann, William Burgess, and Samuel Chew. Burgess and Chew also had invested in town lots of Londontown on the South River and the failed "Herrington" on Herring Bay in St.

James Parish. Less well known substantial planters of the area also took up lots: Dr. Mordecai Moore, Maurice Baker, Samuel Norwood, and Capt. Richard Jones. A few buyers could be considered speculative outside investors—the peripatetic tavernkeepers of the western shore, Nicholas Sporne and Alexander Dehinojossa, and a major figure from St. Mary's City, Garrett Van Swearingen. Two mariner/merchants took up lots; one, William Rick, is known to have been a factor of a London mercantile house.

Few merchants who were not also substantial planters with previously well-established marketing outlets were among this group. Investment in city lots in Annapolis, situated as it was in a tobacco-producing region, almost certainly was prompted not by an expectation of profits linked to export services but by the value of the lot itself, which in a permanent capital would be certain eventually to rise in value while temporarily providing opportunities for town residence and rental income.

Most of the initial property owners had disposed of their city lots by 1705. Thereafter began a second phase in which a few resident merchants invested in city property regularly, amassing blocks of land in varying areas of the city—lots they and their heirs would hold for three decades or more. Most prominent in this group were Charles Carroll The Settler and Amos Garrett. Carroll, a Catholic, had immigrated to the colony in 1689 with an appointment as attorney general of the province. Caught in the political upheaval that ended the proprietary administration of Lord Baltimore, he nevertheless continued to serve as a public official while increasingly investing in land and mercantile interests. His son and grandson (Charles of Annapolis and Charles of Carrollton) consolidated and expanded investment in city land. Amos Garrett, born in London in 1671, came to Maryland in 1699 and served as an agent for Sir Thomas Lawrence. Garrett was a highly successful merchant, money lender, and real estate developer. He was among the first to invest in the city speculatively rather than with the idea of ac-

quiring land adjacent to and in a widening circle around his home, as did Carroll in the southwest sector of the city. Garrett developed his lots through the use of tenants and even invested in a fire engine for their protection. Not surprisingly he served as first mayor, was an early burgess for the city, and was active in judicial and parish capacities as well. He never married and his vast estate was largely managed after his death in 1727 by his nephew Amos Woodward, whom Garrett had brought to Annapolis to learn the business. Also prominent in the investment in city property before 1710 were William Bladen and Thomas Bordley, both lawyers and influential placemen. Bladen came up to Annapolis from St. Mary's City in the first wave of officials to arrive in the city. He served as secretary of the province, commissary general, attorney general, and in several major clerkships between 1694 and his death in 1718. Bordley was the last of the four newcomers to arrive in Annapolis, taking up residence about 1704. He soon established himself as a leading lawyer in the colony and like Bladen served in major fee-paying positions and in key clerkships, but also served for many years in the House of Delegates before his appointment to the Council in 1720.

The land investment activity of these men was pronounced enough to draw the comment in 1708: "most of the Lotts in the Said Towne and Porte are Ingrossed into three or four Peoples hands to the great Discouragement of the neighbors who would build and Inhabitt therein could they have the opportunity of taking up Lotts. . . ."12

Unlike Yorktown, where the second wave of investors was often non-resident, very few absentee landlords invested in Annapolis after 1710. Property owners like the Carrolls, Garrett, Bladen and Bordley, who together owned more than half of the town land by 1725, were actually residents of the city for all or most of the year. All were burgesses and/or major placemen. It was in their political and financial interests alike to see that Annapolis diversified economically. Development in Annapolis, unlike Yorktown

with its single-lot property owners, was linked to a leasehold system that persisted throughout the colonial period.

As early as 1700 craftsmen began to take up lots in the city. Relatively few in number, they concentrated in the building trades that did not require fixed premises. It is not until about 1710 that craftsmen in the leather, cloth, and metal trades appeared, creating demand for workshop space with housing for themselves and their few skilled servants and apprentices. From about 1710 to 1720 the number of artisan/property owners grew and the areas taken up by these early craftsmen established commercial zones that persist today: West Street, the first block of Maryland Avenue, the upper portions of Main Street, and an area now largely absorbed by residential development, the Charles Street-upper Duke of Gloucester Street area. Artisans held individual parcels, small and scattered but strategically located. Craftsmen continued to develop lots before 1720, stimulated by legislation offering fee-simple title to twenty lots in "Newtown" on the northeast side of the city. Gradually this trend ended. By 1730 many craftsmen who had acquired titles were selling them to Carroll, Garrett and others. Financial difficulties, death, and rising property values were all factors.

Almost unknown in Annapolis after 1730 was the resident who owned a single undivided lot from which he derived his principal income. Increasingly, commercial land was developed by a tenant who held a lease of varying length and who diversified as deeply as his resources would permit—augmenting his income by tavernkeeping, retailing wet and dry goods and/or subleasing space to other craftsmen or small retailers. The decade from 1720 to 1730 seems to have been the critical one in establishing the trend toward the leasehold system that dominated commercial activity for the remainder of the colonial period and that disappeared gradually when the gentry and the import market they generated collapsed in the late 1780s.

If the consolidation of property in the hands of influential placemen and

wealthy merchants was pronounced enough to be remarkable in 1708, it was even more striking a decade later. The James Stoddert survey of 1718 is the first document that records all property owners. Dividing the listed owners into groups derived from criteria based on occupation, civil service, social status, and residency shows the planter/gentry/officials (like Carroll, Bladen, Bordley) owning forty-two percent of the total area surveyed. Merchants and professionals (Amos Garrett) held twenty-seven percent and craftsmen twenty-nine percent. The remaining two percent was glebe land of St. Anne's Parish. The largest part of land held by craftsmen was in the "Newtown" area. By 1740 only four of these twenty lots were still in the hands of the artisan class for whom they had been specifically intended. In other areas of the city only about half the craftsmen-owned land in 1718 remained in that status in 1740. Tradesmen still worked and lived on this same land, but fee-simple title had passed to provincial officers and merchants who leased it out. In 1740 their combined percentage of the town land stood at seventy percent and remained at this level until the Revolution.

A significant result of this pattern of land development was the almost uniformly undivided nature of the lots laid out by Stoddert in 1718 as they passed from one generation of owners to another throughout the eighteenth century. For example, none of the lots owned by Charles Carroll The Settler at the time of his death in 1720 was subdivided (if still owned) at the time his grandson Charles Carroll of Carrollton died in 1832. This was true of the Bladen, Bordley, and Garrett holdings as well, although title had passed to others before the end of the century. Of the 109 lots laid out by James Stoddert in 1718, only five were subdivided before 1770. These five lots had been acquired by craftsmen or tradesmen between 1710 and 1720 and subdivided before 1730. They were lot 51 (on upper Duke of Gloucester Street), lot 102 (on lower East Street), lot 82 (on Maryland Avenue), lot 73 (on upper Main Street)

and lot 75 (on State Circle). Only lot 82 was not further subdivided as commercial activity increased generally in the years 1740 to 1776 (see figure 3).

The greatest long-term impact of the three-phase land acquisition cycle which took place in Annapolis between 1695 and 1730 was that residential land was held in large blocks and left unimproved in the colonial period. Following the Revolution a declining economy and a slow regrowth cycle meant that it was not until the 1840s and even later that areas along Market and Conduit Streets, Prince George, and King George Streets were largely developed, giving Annapolis its charming and diversified nineteenth and early twentieth century architecture.

Development over the first twenty years in Annapolis was rapid regardless of the question of fee-simple vs. leasehold interest. With a population that doubled between 1695 and 1715, housing was a critical problem. Piecing together references in assembly proceedings and the few surviving deeds gives an idea of how few dwellings existed in Annapolis in 1695 and 1696. Fifteen can be clearly established and all but one lie within the rough confines of the Beard 1684 survey. A visitor to Annapolis in 1699 estimates he saw about forty dwellings. Deeds, too, suggest steady growth in the first few years, but still along the streets Beard had laid out in 1684. It is not until the construction of the first public buildings was well underway that private development began to fan out on the hill in the areas of Church Circle, down West and upper Southeast Streets. By 1715 the Nicholson plan had been very sparsely filled out and crudely defined. Figure 4 shows improved sites by 1715.

The fabric of these early dwellings was frame. So rare was a brick building that a visitor in 1699 remarked "There are also a state house and a free school, built with brick, which makes a great shew among a parcel of wooden houses."¹³ John Perry, the postman, was so proud of his brick dwelling that he went to the assembly complaining that "whereas he has been att great charges in building a brick house in the porte of Annapolis a certaine

Small Markett House was since so incommodiously erected that it deprived him of his sight and prospect." He asked that the "said Markett House" be removed "At the petitioners charge and placed in Such place as the Comr^s of the Porte of Annapolis shall direct."¹⁴

Few early deeds make any mention of outbuildings. A rare example is the reference in 1701 to the stables at Proctor's Tavern being located on a separate lot.¹⁵ After 1710 deeds occasionally note gardens, fencing, fruit trees, or a hen-house.

The earliest private dwellings answered public needs. All of the fifteen earliest dwellings identified at one time or another housed lodgers, committee meetings, public records, or armaments. No official governor's residence was among the early buildings erected. Governor Nicholson found lodgings like everyone else and stayed at Major Dorsey's house on State Circle in 1696.¹⁶ He later either built or planned to build a home in the city, but it was not an official residence. Governor John Hart, last of the royal governors, elected to rent a plantation near the city for himself and his family.¹⁷

From the first the Commissioners of the Port of Annapolis were faced with seeing not only that adequate facilities were erected at a reasonable cost as quickly as possible for meetings of the assembly and courts, worship, public safety, and the storage of records and munitions, but that the town was secured and a system set up to pay official bills, administer justice, and order essential supplies. In due course—and with the usual delays and cost overruns—a state house, church, free school, prison, gunhouse, and market house were built, all of which almost immediately needed repair in addition to maintenance.¹⁸ As important to the orderly development of the city as the erection of public buildings was the establishment and regulation of common land and the defense of the town. Both needs were addressed in the first few years. The same act which in the fall of 1696 had created commissioners to regulate the growth and management of the

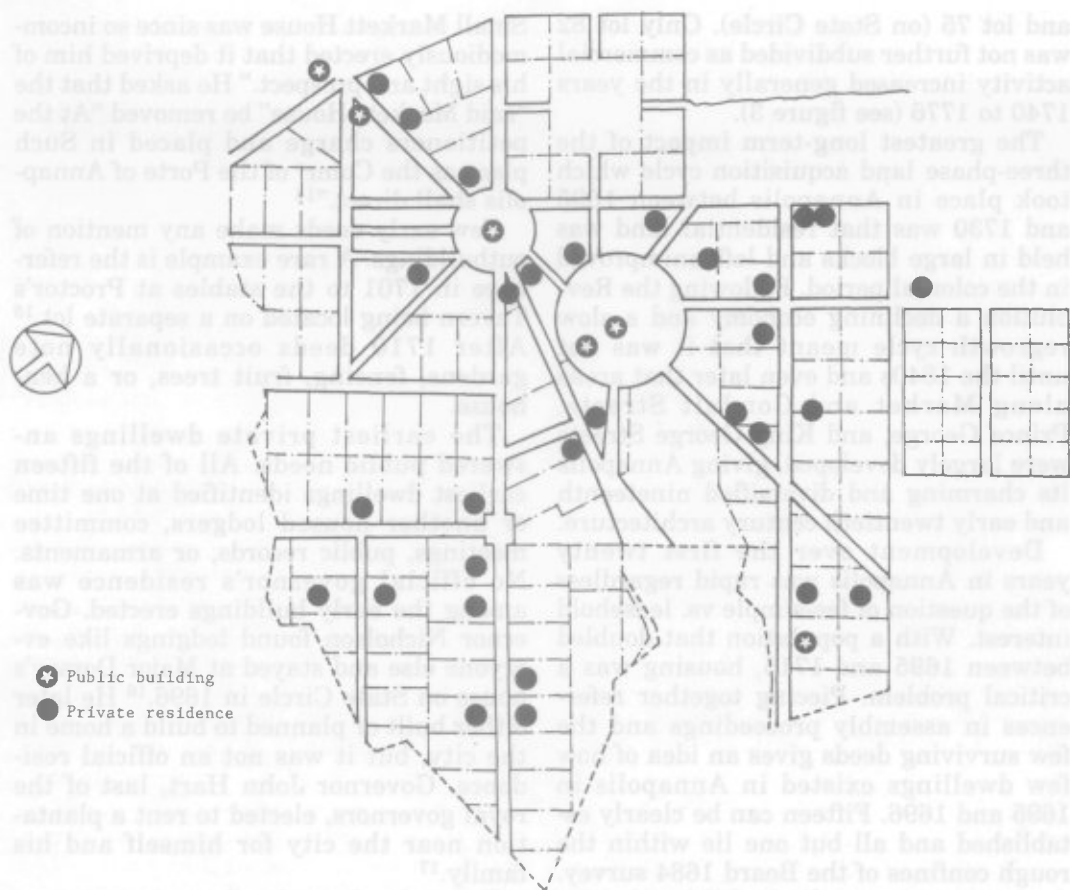


FIGURE 4. Known Dwellings Before 1715

city gave this body the right to purchase and expand common land, taking it by eminent domain if necessary.¹⁹ Property owners forfeited their right to use such common land if they did not contribute on a proportionate basis to its purchase.

As early as 1694 town commissioners ordered a fence to enclose "all that parcell or neck of land within Levey Neck Cove and Actions Cove lying and adjoining or near the Town Land"²⁰—the area from the present Spa Creek to College Creek at the neck of the peninsula (see figure 2). The land along the fence and/or outside the area surveyed for house lots was officially the town common or pasture and its fencing and subsequent maintenance was a public charge. A gate, constructed at the land entrance to the city where West, Calvert and Cathedral Streets met, was the pivotal point of the system.

Thomas Ward and William Maccubbin were paid for making the fence in 1695²¹ and for the next twenty-five years or so the fence was a constant administrative irritant as city growth increased pressures to break down common land and control of the raising and pasturing of livestock became a serious concern.

Almost as soon as the provincial assembly set aside and fenced the common land it began to take out, on paper at least, large sections of it for private development, the title to which passed in fee simple. Governor Nicholson was given "a Certain parcell of Land in the publick pasture . . . for the planting or makeing a Garden Vineard or Somerhouse or other use."²² Twenty contiguous lots of one acre each were taken out of the town pasture for the encouragement of craftsmen whose trades "anoy or disquiett the

neighbours or Inhabitants of the Town.”²³ The town common or pasture was further eroded in the first decade by a fair ground and the construction of a powder house.²⁴

The pasture was further encroached upon until by 1730 much of the land on the north side of the city (on which the Naval Academy now stands) was in private hands. James Stoddert surveyed these parcels as they were formally added to the “town land” (see figure 3). These additions were large lots of generally two to five acres and were given not sequential numbers or letters as had been the case previously, but two letter designations such as DW, WA, FS or RG, having no order or relationship one to the other but reflecting either owners initials or the names of family members (e.g., “Nancy and Betsey”). The first owners of these lots taken out of common land in the period between 1718 and 1730 were merchants and well-established craftsmen who needed warehouse or workshop space. This development again demonstrated the dominance of the provincial officers and property owners in the town: they forced competitive developers to move outside the town proper.

The original purpose of the common land was to provide pasturage for certain livestock, horses in particular. Resident property owners were allowed to graze a horse and two calves on the common land for each lot owned.²⁵ Sheep, pigs, goats and all poultry were to be kept penned in town. The only exception in which non-property owners were allowed access to the common pasture was for ordinary keepers. In this early period tavern-keepers did, of course, provide stabling and pasturage for burgesses and non-resident public officials who were the first to complain when an inept or drunken gatekeeper let their horses stray. As the city grew, by-laws were increasingly directed at controlling livestock, especially pigs, which too often ran about the unpaved and undrained streets, creating a nuisance.

Security was the other principal concern of the early commissioners of the port. The city was protected by an armed militia. Munitions and storage were paid

for out of the public levy. Sometime between 1696 and 1704 a battery of guns was built, likely in the location on the point near the entrance to the city dock where Andrew Burnaby described it in 1768.²⁶ Like the later battery, the guns were mounted on a wooden frame, although their configuration, number and power is not known. The cost of mounting alone ran to £15.4.6 and was complete by mid-1704.²⁷ In September of that year Charles Kilbourne, captain of the city militia, was paid for “looking after the Guns and firing them on occasions as required.”²⁸

The opening and marking of roads into the city, ditching and drainage, and the uprooting and filling of stump holes were undertaken from time to time. During the colonial period, however, the provincial government and the city corporation of Annapolis did little in the way of public improvements that were not prompted by either crisis situations or a desire to promote commerce. Not until the early nineteenth century did municipal authorities seriously undertake niceties such as systematic grading, drainage and paving, street lighting, routine maintenance of footpaths and bridges, refuse removal, and expansion of facilities for public water.

The period 1695–1730 saw the town land defined, patterns of commercial development clearly established, and all essential public services supplied. Public and private interests had progressed to the point that the town could accommodate future growth and residents could live in reasonable harmony and safety.

An urban area’s success in developing trades and services can be measured in the people who invest in it. Estimates of the Annapolis population between 1695 and 1730 grow out of county census and tithable figures.²⁹ They suggest 250 as a reasonable population estimate for 1699, 340 to 400 for 1715, and about 700 for 1730. Free white males appear more frequently and in a wider variety of activities than do their dependents.³⁰ Evidence determining origin, length of stay in the city, wealth, occupation, and civil service

is greater for free males than for any other element of the population. Table 1 shows their numbers based on surviving records.

Besides officials and clerks from St. Mary's City, a variety of trades people settled in Annapolis. Tavernkeepers like Mr. and Mrs. William Gwyther followed their clientele, as did Mrs. Dinah Nuthead, the printer's widow. In the late 1690s Anne Arundel County as a whole attracted substantial numbers of immigrants from England, many of whom found their way to Annapolis either as merchants like Amos Garrett or skilled craftsmen like Thomas Reading, the printer, Thomas Fielder, the architect/builder, or Henry Crofts, a bricklayer. Several others—John Dodd, a tavernkeeper and Benjamin Fordham, a brewer/tavernkeeper—came down from Philadelphia. From Germany came Justus Inglehart Kuhn, a portrait painter, and George Slaycom, a mariner. Naturalization papers for the Annapolitan Stephen Francis note that he was born in Italy.³¹ By far the largest number of Annapolitans came from Anne Arundel County (and other Maryland counties) or arrived as transported servants. The former were planters broadening or establishing mercantile interests or men with basic carpentry or coopering skills, many of whom had immigrated to the county a decade or more earlier.

Career studies of 259 free white adult males living and working in Annapolis in

the years 1695–1730 show some degree of stability among them. Their average length of stay was about ten years. Officials, merchants, and professionals stayed slightly longer on the average (11.6 years) than did craftsmen, tavernkeepers, and laborers (8.9 years). New arrivals in the years 1716–1730 stayed an average of 11.3 years compared to 8.9 years for the group arriving 1695–1715. Of 280 free white males known resident between 1695 and 1730, 165 or fifty-nine percent are known to have died in the city. Thirty-three can be traced elsewhere after they left Annapolis, and eighty-two simply disappear from the surviving records. Not surprisingly, the men who left largely were bachelors, sailors, tavernkeepers, factors of London merchantile houses, or craftsmen who had come for specific projects. Also leaving were planter/merchants giving up town residence to return to their plantations year round. Men who spent the greater part of their adult lives in Annapolis clearly found permanent opportunities for work. A tailor, brewer, baker, and a blacksmith had established themselves by 1700, but apparently no more than one in each trade. Not until about 1708 did a clear pattern show the presence of a butcher, barber, and waterman. About the same time records revealed an increase in carpenters, tavernkeepers, and attorneys and, in tanning, the emergence of an industry.

There is no particular reason why An-

TABLE 1.
Annapolis Free White Males, 1695–1730

	1695	1700	1705	1710	1715	1720	1725 ⁴	1730 ⁴
Number known	22/28 ¹	25/29	37/42	57/68	64/84	105/130	64/77	75/81
Number known married	12 ²	9	17	32	44	59	41	46
Number married with children	6	6	9	24	32	46	29	31
Bureaucrats/placemen	15	9	7	9	8	12	15	17
Merchants/professionals	3	7	8	10	9	20	21	19
Craftsmen	1	10	22	27	33	43	25	33
Tavernkeepers ³	4	5	4	7	7	7	3	1

1. The first figure is the number actually known to have been resident that year; the second number is an adjusted count with probable and possible residents added.

2. This and other categories are drawn from the real, not the adjusted group.

3. Sole source of income

4. Data severely limited by loss of Anne Arundel County court judgments 1723–1731.

napolis should have become a center for the tanning industry. Resources, transportation, and markets were no better there than in other areas of the county. In fact, tanning had its drawbacks in an urban setting. While the provincial government encouraged the development of tanning as it did most trades, it was to be carried on at the edges of the city or in areas where it would be downwind of residents on hot days. By 1710 three master tanners worked in the city. Whether Alexander Stuart and William Bennett were attracted to Thomas Docwra's establishment by the opportunity for work or whether they set up independently from the first is not known. By the 1720s Docwra was dead, Stuart operated on or next to the old Docwra site, and Bennett had set up in competition. Tanning served as a stable Annapolis industry throughout the colonial period. The related trades of shoemaker, currier, and butcher were slower to develop (all were present by 1715), perhaps because shoemakers and curriers already worked elsewhere in the county. Tanning was the first local industry to develop a dependence on bonded labor and systematically use apprentices. Docwra, an immigrant who arrived in Annapolis as a free adult by 1706, operated a tanyard that lay just outside the city gate and adjoined his house lot in the town proper. As a prominent tradesman in the city at the time Annapolis was chartered, he became one of its first representatives in the provincial assembly and spoke out on behalf of craftsmen. He regularly employed both skilled and unskilled servants, either single or with families, and took on apprentices routinely. He is known to have used skilled shoemakers on wages and to have paid debts for others in return for their work. Additionally, he used short-term bonded labor with useful but unrelated skills as in the case of Thomas Andrews, a carpenter who at least twice in the years 1708–1716 worked off debts owed Docwra. At the time of his death in 1719, Docwra is known to have had two apprentices, three servants, and a man on wages. He almost certainly had other servants and employees, but does not seem

to have owned slaves. Alexander Stuart, who operated an adjoining tanyard and who lived until 1730, left a probated inventory that listed six servants but no Negroes.

This use of servant rather than slave labor in the tanning industry typified the general use of bonded labor in the city before 1730. Inventories reveal that, of thirty-three Annapolis estates filed by 1715, only three had slaves listed in the inventory, and all the deceased planted in Middleneck or Westminster parishes and could have been using this slave labor on their county land. Eleven individuals had servants listed; two of the slaveowners also had servants. In the years 1716 to 1730 the use of bonded labor followed the same pattern. Of 49 decedents, six owned slaves and five held servants at the time of death, while ten men were masters of both forms of labor. Ten of the slaveowners also planted.

Between 1708 and 1715, other trades appeared for the first time—a saddler, a portrait painter, and a glover. Not until about 1720 did Annapolis have a goldsmith or a watchmaker, a hatter or a musician, and other luxury crafts developed even later. Shipbuilding, too, developed slowly, despite its early start in Annapolis. The boatyard on Todd's (Spa) Creek seems to have persisted, and one or two boatwrights worked in the area between 1705 and 1720. There were wharves or landings along the creek marked on the Stoddert survey of 1718, suggesting that shipping continued there. The city dock, particularly at its head and along the northeast side, remained largely undeveloped until well into the 1720s. The assembly in 1696 set aside that area specifically for the use of shipwrights, but it was not until 1719 that a skilled craftsman, Robert Johnson, petitioned to use it. He and his sons came from Fuller's Point on the lower part of the Annapolis neck, where planting and boatbuilding occasionally went together. Johnson may not himself have lived in Annapolis for all of the time he used the improved lot. He could easily have established dependents with hired labor to work at the yard. In any case, not until 1735 did shipbuilding

appear as a competitive industry in Annapolis, and not until about 1740 did related crafts (blockmaking, sailmaking, ropemaking) begin to spin off from the trade as shoemaking had done from the tanning industry. Indeed Annapolis after 1745 was better known for its ship chandlery than for the quantity and/or quality of the vessels built there.

More so than in the later eighteenth century, skilled free white males relied solely on their trade of craft for income. Less than ten percent of city craftsmen had a second source of income before 1730. Table 2 shows that before 1730 some diversification of craft activity took place in all but the lowest wealth levels. Thereafter the pattern changes, with diversification becoming clearly linked with greater comparative wealth. By 1770 only those craftsmen who had one or more sources of income outside their specialization attained total estate values above £250, showing a clear correlation between diversification and wealth among craftsmen. Yet specialists did not altogether give way to entrepreneurs among the craft community in the years 1730–1770. Some craftsmen could not or did not wish to invest in other business ventures, even though opportunities were increasingly available. These individuals simply did not prosper to the same extent as diversified craftsmen. Wealth, in fact, remained constant for poorer specialists over the entire colonial period.

Competition, available capital, and fixed premises determined which

craftsmen diversified and expanded. The Annapolis luxury and maritime crafts were less competitive in the 1740s, 1750s, and early 1760s than were the building trades and the leather, cloth, and metal-working crafts. Trade restrictions limited the production of country-made luxury goods. Maritime trades faced direct competition from English shipyards, ropewalks, and sail lofts. While Parliament did not discourage production of local cordage, for example, the quality of colonial rope fell below English rope in this period. In a limited market, only one or perhaps two hatters or blockmakers could make a living, and both needed a shop to make and sell their work. The result was that these craftsmen found ways to augment their income. Some of them offered a non-specialty service, took out an ordinary license, or retailed wet and dry goods on a small scale. Service and food-related tradesmen expanded into tavern-keeping or shopkeeping. Table 3, outlining patterns of diversification in the city over the first half of the eighteenth century, demonstrates that craftsmen diversified in far greater numbers after 1730 than before, even given the severely limited nature of the data for the decade that seems to have been pivotal, and that luxury and service craftsmen diversified to a greater extent than did other groups. Significantly, tavernkeepers who relied solely on their ordinary license for a living did not increase as a group after 1730 and, in fact, declined. By 1750 only women derived a living by tavernkeeping

TABLE 2.
Wealth Levels of Annapolis Craftsmen, 1700–1770

Total Estate Value	1700–1730		1731–1750		1751–1770	
£0–25	9*	0†	4	0	4	0
£26–50	6	2	6	0	3	0
£51–100	8	1	5	1	3	0
£101–150	3	2	1	1	0	0
£151–250	1	0	1	0	3	0
£251–500	3	2	6	6	3	3
£501–999	3	3	0	0	2	2
£1000+	1	1	3	3	4	4

* Total number of estates

† Number diversified

TABLE 3.
Annapolis Craft Diversity 1700–1750

	1700	1710	1720	1730*	1740	1750
Free White Males	25/29 [□]	57/68	105/130	75/79	75/81	79/104
Craftsmen	10	27	43	33	34	48
Tavernkeepers†	5	7	7	1	6	5
Men	3	6	5	1	3	0
Women	2	1	2	0	3	5
Diversified craftsmen	1	7	10	5	10	18
into tavernkeeping	0	4	9	5	5	6
into other sources	1	3	1	—	6	14
two or more additional sources	1	1	1	—	2	4
Diversification by craft groups						
luxury	2/1 [●]	3/1	6/2	3/2	3/2	11/8
service/food	1/0	6/2	8/2	3/1	6/3	7/3
cloth/leather/metal	1/0	10/3	18/4	11/3	10/1	18/3
woodworking/building	6/0	7/1	10/1	12/0	10/2	7/4
maritime	0/0	0/0	1/0	5/0	5/1	5/1

* Data severely limited due to loss of Anne Arundel County Court judgments 1723–1731. Ordinary licenses were issued by this court.

† Sole source of income

● Number identified/number diversified

□ See Table 1

alone and they were widows or spinsters when they obtained a license. It seems apparent that in Annapolis between 1695–1730 tavernkeeping was carried on by men who were as close to “professional” ordinary keepers as Annapolis ever had.

Greater opportunities after 1730 generally made any investor prosper regardless of occupation. Clerks and schoolmasters who found a second source of income accumulated higher total estate values than colleagues who did not expand. The keys to successful expansion for any individual were fixed premises that already generated traffic and enough capital to purchase the stock, tools, and materials or labor required for expansion. Clerks were less likely to grow than craftsmen, but men like Thomas Williamson simply used more capital and leased space. Carpenters, plasterers, and bricklayers—working on site—were also less likely to own a workshop or to have much capital; lacking both means to expand, they remained undiversified over time and had the lowest total estate values of any group.

The contrast in the working lives of

craftsmen before and after 1730 is best demonstrated using career studies of prominent craftsmen. John Inch, a well known Maryland goldsmith, lived and worked in Annapolis from about 1743 until his death in 1763. His career as a craftsmen in the city differed distinctly from that of Cesar Ghiselin, a goldsmith of equal skill and reputation who worked in Annapolis from about 1717 until 1726. Ghiselin confined his business to his craft; though he used indentured labor in his workshop, it was either unskilled or skilled in some aspect of the trade. Inch began in much the same way, using related labor to run his shop. He soon expanded into buying the time of skilled indentured servants in other trades (coopers, painter/glaziers, a mantua maker, sawyer, staymaker, and others), investing in tools for their use, and making room in his workshop for them. When he died he owned skilled black labor, was providing services (a ferry and pilot service), running a tavern, and selling a few wet and dry goods, all the time working as a silversmith and employing a jeweller on wages. Inch was by no means an isolated example of the di-

versified craftsman, and he and others like him were far more involved in Annapolis credit networks than Ghiselin and craftsmen of the period before 1730. The transitional phase seems to have been the decade of the 1730s when craftsmen like the goldsmiths Philip and John Syng expanded into one area only, in this case into secondary labor and tavernkeeping.

The less a successful craftsman depended on his own trade for a living, the more likely he encouraged his sons to do the same. Tracing craft activity in Annapolis families from 1700 to 1776 shows that sons more frequently trained in a craft during the earlier than the later years. Even if craftsmen considered a father/son relationship in a trade desirable before 1730, attempts to establish family workshops generally failed—primarily because of the low birth rate, premature deaths, and the practice of apprenticing younger sons away from the family business. In the years 1695–1720 the number of sons born to any family in the city was very small and the number that survived even smaller. Not until the 1720s did enough sons grow to maturity in their father's lifetime to make inherited workshops feasible. These young men came of age in the mid-1740s, a time when career opportunities were greater in merchandizing and civil service. A young hatter or goldsmith would generally be satisfied to stay in the family workshop only if he could expand into areas where the possibility of short term profits were greater, thereby making the craft essentially a sideline of tavernkeeping or shopkeeping.

Nearly all Annapolis craftsmen in 1730 had immigrated either from England, Europe, or from other colonies. Very few had been born in the city. As opportunities for work increased there, natives could not keep pace—in fact, the Annapolis population did not become “self-sustaining” until long after economic and social patterns had appeared. Immigrants continued to have a significant impact on the development of institutions, trades and services until well after 1730, even though the elements that might have produced a native population by this time

had been present as early as 1700. In 1695 half of married Annapolitans had children in the household, a figure that rose to an average of about seventy percent by 1730. Death dissolved Annapolis unions less often than in nearby Westminster and St. James parishes, where there were fewer childless couples and a greater incidence of death among women within five years of marriage. Both the comparative length of the average city marriage and the female partner's survival through the marriage likely was due to a relatively low city birth rate. Nearly a third of Annapolis married couples in the years 1659–1730 apparently went childless. In the earliest years many wives were past childbearing age when they arrived in the city and had grown children or stepchildren, as did Rachel Proctor/Kilburn/Freeborne, Susanna (Mrs. Richard) Beard and others. The number of couples in which the wife was a widow and for which marriage and birth records survive suggests that these women were past childbearing age at the time they wed. Furthermore, when one adds to this group the number of women who had only one child (as for example Mrs. Margaret Freeman Lloyd), the theory that city women in the early years were older seems reasonable. If all the women who married as widows or who are known to have been older or past childbearing age are eliminated from the data, the number of young couples remaining is about half the total and among them death in childbirth among the women more nearly resembles the statistics for rural areas. Since so many city couples were older, only fifty-nine of the eighty-three known in the period 1695–1730 produced children. The average number of births per couples was 2.7 with a mortality rate of about forty percent. Natives who came of age in the years 1720–1745 made up only a small part of the total Annapolis population.

From 1694 until 1708, Annapolis town commissioners, drawn largely from local members of the provincial assembly, appointed committees to oversee specific projects. The provincial government bore

all expenses of supply, maintenance, and repair, and paid salaries for the services of the gatekeeper and drummer. Sir Thomas Lawrence painted a rosy picture of early public administration in his letter of 25 March 1697 to the Board of Trade: "Here I found his Excellency in good health, carrying on a fair house, for the publick Administration of Justice, and all the offices of business in the Country; a fine brick building which will now be accompanied with a fine Church which will cost 1000¹¹, and a publick School 500¹¹ both now in hand and our Contributions ready. . . ."³²

In fact, record keeping and administration were so plagued with inefficiency that disclosures like the following, appearing in assembly proceedings, must have been as embarrassing to relate at the time as they are painful and amusing to read today:

"The Law relating to the fines on Ordinary Licenses you was pleased yesterday to favour us with, altho' it was perpetual yet we find that Law and all others were repealed in Anno 1698 and if that Law had been Lodged in the proper Office where it ought to have been we should have taken Notice of it before, but both the Records of Assemblies and other Records are now so squandered about in Holes and Bye-Places that it's almost impossible to find those we want."³³

"Upon Enquiry after some Certificates of Lands in the Secretarys Office. It is said a Book of Returns about the year 1689 is missing and we observing an open Chest Standing in the free school porch exposed to the weather so that several Certificates & Other Instruments therein relating to Lands are damnified & spoiled amongst which we find several Certificates of Lands returned near or about that Time. . . ."³⁴

As the city grew so did the demand for services. Conflicts of interest between residential needs and provincial government increased. After receiving a charter, the city became a self-contained political unit, electing two delegates to the assembly over and above those sent by the county as a whole.³⁵

Inevitably questions arose involving

responsibility for such public concerns as the maintenance of the gate and fencing system, fire protection, and drainage. Legislators generally approached these problems in a spirit of compromise. The maintenance of the gate and fence, for example, was divided two-thirds to the provincial purse and one-third to the citizens of Annapolis. The provincial assembly had purchased the land and paid to construct the gatehouse; the city had built the fence. Since the security of the capital was a serious concern, the assembly willingly assumed a greater share of the running costs. Both parties had an equal say in the selection of the gatekeeper.³⁶ Annapolis in 1708 assumed responsibility for municipal government, took over control of the twice weekly market, gained a limited right to exercise the power of eminent domain (subject to appeal to the provincial court). The city was organized with a mayor, six aldermen, and ten common councilmen. A trained counsel recorder supplied legal advice. Mayor, aldermen and recorder sat as justices of the city or as a "Mayor's" Court, tried civil offenses against city by-laws, and appointed constables and other law enforcement officials. The sheriff of Anne Arundel County acted for Annapolis until 1714, at which time a charter revision allowed for a sheriff specifically for the city.³⁷

All Annapolis officials were from and elected by the freeholders—those men who either owned a lot of improved land, held a visible estate to the value of £20 sterling, and/or had actively practiced a trade within the city for five years. While no wording so suggested in the charter, city aldermen by the 1720s were selected from the ranks of the planter/gentry or merchants, while the common council was generally made up of tradesmen. Throughout the colonial period men who represented Annapolis in the House of Delegates often had been mayors or sat as aldermen of the city—much the way sons of rural planter/burgesses gained experience by service as county justices of the peace. Such class distinctions, while not as sharply drawn as in the country, also surfaced in the appointment of

churchwardens and vestrymen at St. Anne's Parish.

A rare glimpse into the workings of early city administration appeared in records of the Mayor's Court for 1719–1721. The court had a crier who was paid for his services with free pasturage for his horse. The twelve jurors were without exception tradesmen. Some, but by no means all, were property owners. Most are not included in the free white male head count for 1715, so had likely not been in the city five years. The court considered a wide range of offenses. Among them were allowing a chimney to blaze and not providing sufficient fire buckets; the Mayor's Court disciplined servants and punished petty theft. A fine of forty shillings was the required penalty (set by the provincial court) for breaking by-laws regarding fire protection and was a standard fine for many infractions throughout the colonial period. Elinor Ferguson, a spinster, was convicted of stealing a petticoat worth 2s 6d from a local widow. She received 15 lashes, stood half an hour in the (county) pillory, and had to pay Mrs. Anchors four times the value of her lost petticoat. Also put in the stocks was Ronald Campbell, a laborer, who when asked to testify to what he knew concerning a cake stolen out of Mr. William Cumming's oven, replied he couldn't say as he was "very Much in drink." Presumably half an hour of fresh air on State House hill cleared his mind. More serious was a charge brought against Dr. John Davisson ("Dr. Sure and Certain") of passing counterfeit coin. The doctor was unfortunate in being at the end of a long chain of people who had passed the bad coinage. In any case he died of natural causes early in 1721.

Poking fun at Dr. Davisson's skills as a physician may have been a form of black humor in an era when the average life span was half what it is today. Annapolis always seems to have had resident physicians in a reasonable ratio to the general population. In 1700 four served a population of about 250. The city was occasionally swept by epidemics such as the smallpox sailors brought in in 1765. In

the days before newspapers, such epidemics are revealed in the rising numbers of deaths, including several members of a family, in certain years. The years 1720–21, in which Dr. Davisson died, were such a time and corresponded to an epidemic cycle seen in other colonies.³⁸

Life in Annapolis before 1730 varied from that on the farms and plantations in nearby rural areas more in the number and nature of regular activities than in the general quality of living conditions. Postal service ran eight times a year between Philadelphia and Williamsburg. Ferries to the Eastern Shore and across the South and Severn Rivers linked Annapolis to the rest of the province. Residents relied on hired transportation for themselves and their goods. A market was held twice weekly, when residents could purchase fresh meat, vegetables and fish. Fishing equipment is not seen in early city inventories and residents were not encouraged to breed livestock beyond what was needed for their own use. Inventories do show that most householders had a horse, a cow, and either a sheep or a pig. Bees and poultry were less common. Two fairs were held each year. By 1730 the event had given rise to horse racing near the head of Dorsey's Creek. Social clubs, too, had been organized soon after 1715. The Royalist and Red House clubs were two of them around 1730, but the most famous came later. Annapolis had no theater and little travelling entertainment before 1730. The *Maryland Gazette*, the first newspaper in the colony, began publication in 1727, only to be abandoned in 1734 when the printer, William Parks, left for Williamsburg. The *Gazette* did not resume publication until 1745.

Most residents kept up with local affairs by visiting a tavern every day. Ordinaries provided more than drink, meals, lodging and stabling for visitors and residents. A tavern was a place where public and private business was transacted, courts met, and auctions were held. While men no doubt played cards in their homes, more frequently they met in taverns for cards and dice. Curiously, the

only city inventory before 1730 showing gaming equipment (other than that of a tavernkeeper) was that of the Reverend Edward Butler, Rector of St. Anne's Parish.

Ordinary licenses were strictly controlled, subject to the posting of a substantial bond.³⁹ Men of good character and property could obtain a license with relative ease. At the other extreme was Miss Mary Newell, a woman advanced in age with very limited resources who wished to sell liquor to augment her meager income. Her moving plea to the government for a license was denied:

That your Petitioner hath been a very laborious and Painstaking woman for several years in this Province and hitherto hath maintained herself by her Drudgery. But now may it please your Excy & Honours She finds old Age and Impotency has much impeded her that she cannot longer scuffle in the world so to provide herself with Necessaries as formerly she was able to do Therefore humbly addresses herself to your Excy & Honours humbly requesting Leave to vend Coffee Tea and a Dram Not that She is in the least desirous to keep a Tipling House or any Thing tending to Excess and Intemperance but purely to capacitate herself to get an honest Livelyhood without being burthensome to any Body I humbly implore your Excy and Honours out of your Abundance of your Consideration and Pity will be pleased to grant Relief in the Premises And as in Duty bound will ever pray.

The above Petition was by the Council indorsed thus.⁴⁰

The position of unattached women like Mary Newell in the period 1695 to 1715 is difficult to assess as these women generally appear in the records only in negative situations: indicted for theft, destruction of property, or having an illegitimate child; as mistreated or runaway servants, or in death. Occasionally spinsters appeared as godmothers to children of the parish or as genteel companions to wealthy ladies of the town, but data is limited.

One of the critical topics to be considered in looking at the growth of an urban area is the point at which city living be-

comes distinctly different from rural living. Of special interest is the acquisition of household goods by city dwellers, particularly of amenities. In Annapolis a departure from the household consumption patterns of rural areas of Anne Arundel County came in the years 1715–1730. From 1695 to 1715 there was little difference between urban estates and inventories from Middleneck parish, the area immediately adjacent to the city. While city dwellers had invested a larger percentage of their total assets in household goods and as a group had more cash inventoried than did their rural neighbors, the incidence of new (imported) goods, and levels of investment in plate, spices, numbers and types of beds, chairs, linens, and supplementary heating and cooking devices was similar. Annapolitans had more books, maps, prints, wigs, and higher-valued wearing apparel than did county planters, but Annapolitans were for the most part bachelors and/or official and professional men.

By 1730 the pattern had changed dramatically. Annapolis inventories showed not only a higher incidence of imported items, but a greater variety within the range of available goods and an increasing trend toward fashion in furniture, fabrics, and metalware. The sharpest contrast between rural and urban estates appeared in sanitary equipment, fireplace tools, scientific and musical instruments, lighting fixtures, cutlery, glassware and ceramics. By 1730 estates in Annapolis had more sanitary devices than any other area of the county and more households with more than one type—both closetool and chamberpots. This trend toward high style also revealed itself in candlesticks. Annapolitans had more brass, pewter, and glass candlesticks (and in combination) by 1730 than did planters, and city estates, unlike rural ones, included sconces and lamps. In Annapolis more households had tables of more than one shape (e.g. oval and square) and for more than one function (dining, dressing, gaming) than did rural households of this period. By 1730 Annapolis has the highest mean investment in personal (or household) goods of

TABLE 4.
Inventoried Personal Goods, Annapolis and Environs, 1730

Area	Total sum invested	Number of cases	Mean investment
Entire county population	£77,307.14	1912	£40.43
Annapolis	14,211.73	255	55.73
St. James Parish	22,001.10	472	46.61
Middleneck Parish	13,403.63	352	38.07
All Hallows Parish	14,258.11	416	34.27
Westminster Parish	13,432.54	417	32.21

any area of the county, a sign that the city had indeed taken on a living standard that was different than that of the rural population. This important factor became more obvious as time passed, and the table above clearly demonstrates this difference in urban and rural household consumption patterns over the colonial period.

As evidenced in physical improvements, population growth, and in the acquisition of real and personal property, the years 1695–1730 can be considered the first phase of Annapolis urban development. The period itself had two distinct phases, the years of uncertainty between 1695 and 1715, when the city was given shape but little direction, and the time between 1716 and 1730, when the city took on distinctly urban characteristics. Three patterns of development then established—land acquisition, native population growth, and the market for imported goods—persisted throughout the colonial period. In other respects, especially in Annapolis social life, craft activity, and use of bonded labor, the early phase was quite different from the later city. The period from 1695–1730 was a time of transition from settlement to city. Annapolis took on the characteristics that survived the coming cycle of economic prosperity, war, and economic recession. Annapolis emerged again in 1830 much as it had been in 1730, a small retail market town with a stable wage-earning population, healthy property values, undiversified craft activity, and a municipal government directed toward essentials only.

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2. Edward C. Papenfuss, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).
3. See the Augustine Herman map of *Virginia and Maryland* (1670) for a view of Arundelton in the context of the contemporary Chesapeake.
4. Figure 2 was prepared by Dr. Carville Earle as part of NEH grant RS 0067-79-0738.
5. The original survey, dated 25 March 1683/4, is among the Annapolis plats at the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland.
6. William Hand Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland* 72 vols. to date; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883–1996, 122, 195–196 (1695).
7. *Ibid.*, 19:551 (1697); 22:70 (1698).
8. Anne Arundel County Deeds WT2:40 (1707) includes metes and bounds for Beard lot 90 as drawn in 1694 and contains a specific reference to "the circle of the public land."
9. See figure 2. The Fleet/North/Prince George/East/King George Street configuration of the Stoddert survey fits generally (although by no means perfectly) over the Beard 1684 outline for the northeast side of the city.
10. The James Stoddert Survey (25 July 1718) is among the provincial court records in the Maryland Hall of Records.
11. Peter Bergstrom and Keven Kelly, "Well Built Towns, convenient ports and markets: The Beginnings of Yorktown 1690–1720" (Unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association, Atlanta, 1981).
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15. Anne Arundel County Deeds WT 1:118 (1702).
16. *Archives of Maryland* 19:292 (1696).
17. Anne Arundel County Deeds IB 2:229 (1715).
18. Morris L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1954).
19. *Archives of Maryland* 19:498–504 (1696).
20. *Ibid.*, 19:113 (1694).
21. *Ibid.*, 19:261 (1695).
22. *Ibid.*, 19:501 (1696).
23. *Ibid.*, 19:503 (1696).
24. *Ibid.*; see also Radoff, *Buildings*, p. 43. Later still in 1708 a half acre "on the public land at Severn Ferry" was taken to build a house for the ferrykeeper. (*Archives of Maryland*, 27:320 [1708]).
25. *Archives of Maryland* 27:55 (1707).
26. *Ibid.*, 19:458 (1696).
27. *Ibid.*, 24:381 (1704).
28. *Ibid.*, 24:47 (1704).
29. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit*, p. 14 and footnote 26; and Lorena S. Walsh, "Report on Anne Arundel County and Annapolis Population 1650–1790" (unpublished report prepared under NEH grant RS 20199-81-1955, September 1982). See also Walsh, "The Historian as Census Taker: Individual Reconstitution and the Reconstruction of Censuses for a Colonial Chesapeake County" *William and Mary Quarterly* (3d Ser.), 38 (April 1981).
30. Career files of Annapolis residents 1694–1776 were compiled under RS 0067-79-0738 by using record striping techniques generally similar to those used by Historic Annapolis, Inc. and the St. Mary's City Commission in earlier studies. Analysis undertaken as part of RS 20199-81-1955 showed a retrieval rate from records of from 25% in 1699 to 85% in the 1760s and 1770s. Only a few serious gaps in surviving Anne Arundel County records exist and those which have an impact on the data in this paper are 1) an incomplete set of city deeds for the years 1694–1704 due to the State House fire, 2) the county court judgments do not begin until 1703 and are missing for the years 1723–1732, 3) no city corporation minutes or mayor's court proceedings survive for the period 1708–1730 with the exception of a few pages of court record for the years 1719–1721. The St. Anne's Parish register is reasonably complete for the years 1695–1730 and is somewhat unusual in that it occasionally gives some indication of the status of the individual recorded.
31. *Archives of Maryland* 19:596 (1697).
32. *Ibid.*, 33:79–80 (1697).
33. *Ibid.*, 29:316 (1713).
34. *Ibid.*, 27:387 (1709).
35. *Ibid.*, p. 358 (1708).
36. *Ibid.*, p. 534 (1710).
37. *Ibid.*, p. 358 (1708).
38. John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana University Press, 1953), suggests that the years 1719–1721 were a time when certain infectious diseases, such as measles, had reached epidemic proportions in the colonies.
39. *Archives of Maryland* 27:55 (1707).
40. See *ibid.*, 27:518 (1699); 24:213 (1701) 29:195 (1712) for legislation regulating ordinaries in this early period.

King William's School Survives the Revolution

CHARLOTTE FLETCHER

KING WILLIAM'S SCHOOL IN ANNAPOLIS, where many generations of boys quietly received an education in the eighteenth century, labored under inescapable administrative, financial, and political problems. It was governed by trustees appointed in unbroken succession from its founding in 1696 until 1786, when they legally changed its name to Annapolis School. They appointed masters and "ushers" (assistants), and directed disciplinary action until 1789, when Annapolis School became St. John's College. Unfortunately the school's journal of proceedings and book of accounts have not been found.¹ However, the *Proceedings* of the General Assembly record what legislative action was taken in behalf of the school, and the published letters of Governor Horatio Sharpe and a few *Gazette* notices add commentary. Together, these records document the continuous operation of the school until St. John's College opened.

Nineteenth century histories of King William's School are not continuous narratives.² Yet they satisfied those who held the popular view that St. John's was founded as King William's School in 1696 until several mid-twentieth century historians,³ troubled by gaps in these early histories, doubted its continuity and overlooked the role its trustees played in establishing St. John's.

This, the last of three articles on King William's School covers the years between 1755 and 1786, when five college bills were introduced in the assembly during the brief peaceful interludes be-

tween French and Indian frontier wars, and following the repeal of the Stamp and Townshend acts before the American Revolution. This article relates a history of continuous operation during years when King William's trustees dreamed of developing their school into a college.

Seven bills to found a college in Maryland were written before the Revolution. The first of these, ordered by the assembly in 1750, was never introduced in that body, perhaps because it was grandiose in some of its recommendations. The next college bill (1754), like that of 1750, proposed that county schools be confiscated, an unpopular notion. Also it was unclear about whether the *one* college (the bill of 1750 had proposed two colleges) was to be located on the Eastern or Western Shore, thus pleasing neither shore. It did not pass the lower house. A third bill (5 May 1761) failed in the lower house; a fourth (6 May 1761), and a fifth (1763), were killed in the upper house. The sixth and seventh (1771, 1773) were riders on money bills. The upper house killed the sixth (1771) but approved the seventh, which Governor Eden signed into law 21 December 1773, affixing the "Great Seal with wax appendant."⁴

All bills written to establish a Maryland college before the Revolution provided for the incorporation of King William's School into a new college entity, a fact lending credence to the sign on the St. John's Annapolis campus today, "St. John's College, Founded as King William's School in 1696." Each time a college bill was introduced in the Assembly, King William's board would strengthen its financial situation in order to employ another usher or hire a more able master, thereby making the school a firmer foundation for the college. For example, in

This article continues a series of articles by Charlotte Fletcher on King William's School and St. John's College that have appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

1750, when the first college bill was being discussed, the board gained permission to sell its unproductive real estate and to reinvest on good security to bring in annual interest.

When the first college bill was proposed, the Rev. Alexander Malcolm,⁵ a gifted mathematician and musician, was rector of St. Anne's (1749–1755). He was a teacher before he came to Annapolis and after he left. In all probability he taught at King William's School and lived in the schoolhouse quarters where some of the other rectors had lived after 1732 (between 1755 and 1759, while saving money to build a rectory, St. Anne's had no rector, employing a vicar who was less expensive). If Malcolm was indeed master of King William's School, he was the last master before the Revolution who was also rector of St. Anne's. The college bill of 1750 in fact had intimated that one man should not be both rector of a parish and a schoolmaster, stating that the head of neither of the proposed colleges shall "officiate in any church living in the province."

After 1755, King William's had a succession of lay teachers. No longer sharing a teacher-priest with St. Anne's after Malcolm left, King William's for a few years may have pooled resources with Anne Arundel County School to support a master and an usher in the King William's schoolhouse.⁶ In 1755 John Wilmot, former master of Anne Arundel School but now master at King William's, advertised for students, calling the school by the long-accepted name "Free School," and by a name not formerly used, "Public School."⁷ Wilmot taught arithmetic, geometry, gravity, surveying, navigation, and Italian (or double-entry) book-keeping.⁸ His assistant, William Clajon taught the Latin, Greek and French languages.⁹

In 1757 Clajon advertised that he was offering to teach a new subject, English grammar, saying,¹⁰

The Subscriber having by a great Application acquired a reasonable Knowledge of the ENGLISH GRAMMAR, he proposes to Teach the same at the FREE SCHOOL of Annapolis. Those Parents

who cannot afford their Children spending several years in the learning of Greek and Latin, may by this Proposal procure to them the only Benefit commonly expected from these Languages, THE LEARNING OF THEIR OWN. Besides, their Daughters can as easily enjoy the same Advantage. As he does not take upon himself to teach English Pronunciation (which will be taught as usual by Mr. Wilmot) he hopes no judicious Person will make any Objection to his being a Foreigner; and that, as his Proposal is of a self-evident Advantage to Youth, he will meet with good Encouragement. His terms are very moderate, being only Thirty Shillings, additional to what is allowed to Mr. Wilmot.

William Clajon

N.B. This will make no Alteration to the Price given me for Teaching French, Latin and Greek.¹¹

Even more interesting than that a foreigner would teach English grammar was his invitation to *daughters* to study at King William's School. Clajon enjoyed some success: his role at the Free School expanded while that of Wilmot became the "subject of false rumors."¹² By 1759 Wilmot had opened a school at the head of South River, the same year Isaac Dakein began his nine years (1759–68) as King William's schoolmaster.

The decade of the sixties in the eighteenth century colonies was turbulent like the sixties of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and like them changed America. Taxes were the issues in the 1760's—independence became the issue later. Maryland's proprietor refused to allow the large revenue from ordinary licenses to be appropriated by the lower house to finance the French and Indian wars or to go toward the establishment of a college. He claimed it as personal income. Proprietor and king alike exacted taxes on trade, and Marylanders increasingly realized that such levies prevented the growth of trade. Until the Stamp and Townshend Acts, these taxes exceeded those paid by two neighboring colonies, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Maryland's sluggish economy gave the majority country party in the lower house reason to challenge the prerogatives claimed by

the proprietary. Governor Sharpe's inability to force the lower house to appropriate revenue for defense prompted the proprietary to write Sharpe that, "Scarce any one End of Government is answered."¹³ Sharpe found some solace in the bond of freemasonry which he, the proprietor, and his "enemies" in the lower house respected.¹⁴

A third college bill, introduced 5 May 1761 unfortunately affronted both the proprietary and country parties. It offended the proprietary by recommending that the unfinished governor's mansion be renovated as the college building, and by appropriating the fees from ordinary licenses to support the college. On the other hand, it offended the country party by again proposing that county school property be confiscated to pay for the renovation of the mansion as a college building. Many parents in the counties wanted to retain their local schools. In 1763 two new county schools were established in Frederick and Worcester counties. The counties were also offended by the proposal that the present trustees of King William's School be the total governing body, thus abolishing their county school boards. On a final vote the entire bill lost seventeen votes to fifteen.¹⁵

True friends of a college, however, did not accept defeat. The following day (6 May 1761), Charles Carroll the Barrister, a trustee of King William's School, introduced a fourth college bill. Unlike its predecessor, it did not threaten county schools. Instead, it recommended a lottery to raise money to renovate the governor's mansion as a college building; and it further provided that "one representative of each county . . . be named a Visitor with those at present of King William's School," thus giving the country party a share in the governance of the college while preserving the board of King William's. Like the preceding bill, Carroll's recommended that revenue from ordinary licenses support the college. It received a resounding affirmative vote, twenty to twelve, in the lower house.¹⁶ Even George Steuart, a proprietary man representing Annapolis, voted for it though it proposed appropriating the revenue from ordinary

licenses. Sharpe defended Steuart's defection, saying that had Steuart not voted as he did "his Constituents . . . should have rejected him at the next election."¹⁷ Although some members of the upper house also wanted a Maryland college, they knew that Lord Baltimore would not allow such "a strip of his right" and therefore killed the fourth bill.¹⁸

Clearly Sharpe was impressed by the size of the vote for founding a college. Believing that an excellent school was needed in Annapolis, he sought support from private benefactors. He wrote the executor of Benedict Calvert's estate in August 1763 that a Mr. Hunt had power of attorney from Visitors of the Free School in Annapolis,

to receive what money you shall be pleased to pay him for the use of the said School nothing remains for me but in the name of the Visitors to return you thanks for what you have done and intend to do for the Advancement of the School, to which I have for my part engaged to contribute Ten pounds a year during my Residence here as Governor . . . it is really to be lamented that while such great things are done for the Support of Colleges and Academies in the neighbouring Colonies there is not in this [province] even one good Grammar School. I should be glad if either by Donations or some other method the Fund or annual Income of our School in this City could be augmented so as to enable us to give such a salary to a Master & Usher as would encourage good and able men to act in those capacities.¹⁹

At the same time these efforts were being made to develop King William's, efforts continued to establish a Maryland college. In 1763 the fifth college bill was introduced by a lower house committee headed by James Tilghman and composed of members of both parties. Despite the bipartisanship, it proved another unacceptable bill. It, too, recommended that license revenue from ordinaries be appropriated to college use. Worse, it proposed the use of an even more contested revenue—three thousand pounds from the balance in the Loan Office—to renovate the governor's mansion. The upper house said the balance should be used to dis-

charge the debt owed to veterans of the French and Indian wars. Therefore, although it wanted to establish a college, it referred the bill "to a distant day for mature consideration."²⁰

Alarmed by the growing sentiment in the Council for a college, Sharpe warned the proprietary "that there is a majority even in the upper house that think the Ordinary Lycence Fines could not be applied to a better purpose [than to build a college]," and urged, "if you see it in a light at all different from what it has hitherto appeared to you . . . send further instructions."²¹ Unfortunately the proprietor had not changed his mind.

As late as February 1765 Frederick, Lord Baltimore, adamantly refused to give up the "privilege of Granting and Regulating Ordinaries," which he called the "very essence of my Prerogative."²² And Sharpe himself expressed reservations about giving away the unfinished governor's mansion for a college. He wrote, "it would really be a pity to give it entirely up, especially as I think it very probable that the Assembly will some time or other refuse to pay a Governor's Rent for him & alledge that it was for many years the Custom here & is still in Pennsylvania for the Proprietary to accommodate his Lieutenant-Governor with a Mansion."²³

In 1764 an epidemic of small-pox gave Sharpe an excuse for not calling the uncooperative assembly to its regular session. But in his wisdom, at its request, he called a special session to elect delegates to a congress in Boston to protest the Stamp Act. Eight other colonies sent delegates. But Virginia, whose governor refused to call a meeting of the burgesses to elect delegates, did not. On 30 May 1765 Annapolis was "thunder struck" by the arrival of Captain Joseph Richardson on the ship *Pitt*, bearing news that the king had signed the Stamp Act on the twenty-second of March.²⁴

A new generation of leaders emerged in the sixties composed of men who had enjoyed a liberal education. By far the largest number had either graduated from, or studied at, the College of Philadelphia—at least thirteen from the col-

lege and many more from its academy.²⁵ In 1761 St. Anne's inducted its first native-born priest, the Reverend Samuel Keene, a 1759 graduate of the College of Philadelphia, who served as rector until 1767. A year later the Reverend William Edmiston, another 1759 graduate of the College of Philadelphia, replaced the scandalous Bennet Allen, a favorite of Lord Baltimore, as St. Anne's rector. Edmiston stayed until 1770. Vestries in Virginia often called College of Philadelphia graduates before Maryland vestries could persuade Lord Baltimore to appoint them.²⁶ Three of this new generation were elected to the lower house, where they relentlessly challenged prerogatives claimed by the proprietor: Thomas Johnson, who studied law in Annapolis with Stephen Bordley, was elected in 1762; Samuel Chase, educated by his father who was a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge University, was elected in 1764; and William Paca, who graduated from the College of Philadelphia in 1759, was elected in 1767. A fourth, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, who was educated at St. Omer's, France, and at the Middle Temple, London, was barred from elective office because he was a Catholic but joined them in their political demonstrations. All four men belonged to the Sons of Liberty, a group formed in Boston to protest the Stamp Act.

Lord Baltimore's favorite revenue source became a casualty of the storm raised by that measure. Paca, Chase, Johnson, and Carroll led "out-of-doors" protests that upset Daniel Dulany of the Council, a constitutional lawyer. He thought action through legislative channels more proper. With three other members of the Council who favored establishment of a college—Francis Jenckins Henry, Henry Hooper and Charles Goldsborough—Dulany prepared and signed a brief addressed to Lord Baltimore that challenged the proprietor's right to exact fees from keepers of inns and ordinaries. It said that the monarch who had given him his charter had no such right under common law. Between the expiration and renewal of a

statute to regulate ordinaries, they had often operated under common law (1766 was between statutes). Therefore, the proprietor could not collect license fees until the assembly passed the necessary statute.²⁷ Convinced by this argument, or more likely by the force of events, Lord Baltimore relinquished his claim to revenue from this source.²⁸ The lower house was then free to appropriate it to some provincial use.

If those who wanted a college in Maryland were heartened by this victory, they were soon disappointed. The lower house did not then appropriate the revenue to establish a college but used it for general purposes instead, leading some men to think that members of the lower house were more interested in testing the prerogatives of Lord Baltimore than in founding a college.

At the end of the sixties local school boards throughout the province tried to improve existing schools. Negotiations led to the merger of some county schools, a strategy that aimed to produce larger incomes and attract better teachers. In the seventies three mergers were accomplished: Somerset and Worcester County Schools into Eden Academy (1770); St. Mary's, Charles and Prince George's County Schools into Charlotte Hall (1774); and Calvert County School into Lower Marlborough Academy (1778).²⁹

In 1766 King William's trustees advertised for "An usher capable of teaching the English language, Writing, Surveying and Arithmetick,"³⁰ while searching for a person to replace Isaac Dakein, whom they had fired.³¹ Daniel Dulany (his brother Walter was a trustee of King William's, and both brothers had sons of school age) talked with a Mr. Davidson, hoping he might "be got for the Free-School of Annapolis," and that "a subscription [might] be obtained that would give him a reasonable support." He also mentioned a Virginia clergyman, saying, "I am very much induced to think that all who have sons to educate here have great interest in his settling in Maryland."³² This was the Reverend Jonathan Boucher, who was then operating a school in Virginia and who would later

become rector of St. Anne's (1771) and conduct a small school in Annapolis. But neither he nor Davidson became masters of King William's School.

It was clear that the school needed more income to attract a good master. So after many years the trustees sold a twenty-year lease on Kentish House in Annapolis.³³ And on 6 May 1769 Horatio Sharpe, Benedict Calvert, Charles Carroll, Walter Dulany, John Ridout, Thomas Johnson and Nicholas Maccubbin, "Rector, Governors, Trustees and Visitors of the Free School of Annapolis called King William's School," signed a deed of sale conveying their farm called "Surveyor's Forest" in Dorchester County to Andrew Skinner Ennalls.³⁴

No record reveals who followed Isaac Dakein as master of King William's School. But many Annapolis schoolmasters were advertising for students in the *Gazette*. Among them, Thomas Ball held classes at the Free School, where in September 1769 he lost five textbooks.³⁵ He may have been master.

Aware of the repeated efforts to found a college, Governor Robert Eden, who had replaced Governor Sharpe in 1769, told the assembly that year, that he wanted "a well founded Provision for a more liberal institution of Youths to be established."³⁶ Two years later the lower house approved a means to finance one. Since no new college laws were introduced, one may presume that the general provisions of Carroll's bill of 6 May 1761 prevailed. They were the following: one college, reconstruction of the governor's mansion in Annapolis as a college building, dissolution of King William's School and transfer of its funds upon the opening of a college, and a college governing board composed of the "present" King William's School trustees plus one representative from each county.

The sixth attempt to finance a college (1771) appeared in the last paragraph of "an Act for the Emission of Bills of Credit." It appropriated \$42,666.67 to be accumulated from interest on bills of credit to be issued, the money to be locked as received in iron chests. This appropriation was approved in the lower house.

But the upper house, in evident pique because it had not been consulted beforehand, killed the entire bill. It said that if the upper house was not allowed any say in the disposal of money got from the issue of bills of credit, the lower house might also exclude it "from considering what system of Instruction and Enforcement of Discipline would be most proper."³⁷ Two years later, however, it voted affirmatively for the same bill it had rejected in 1771. On 21 December 1773, Governor Eden affixed his signature and the "Great Seal with wax appendant" upon "An Act for the Emission of Bills of Credit."³⁸ The sanguine expected a Maryland college to be founded within a few years.

Again the trustees of King William's readied themselves to play a full role in the governance of the anticipated Annapolis college. Their Register, John Duckett, advertised for a master, an usher and a scribe, their appointments to be effective April 1774. The master was offered "an annual salary of fifty-five pounds sterling certain and five pounds currency to be paid by each scholar in the latin school"; the usher "thirty pounds sterling certain and two pounds currency paid by each scholar"; and "a scribe who can teach English, writing and arithmetick, six pounds sterling with every advantage arising from the scholars he instructs and liberty to make his own bargain with their parents." In addition, the master was promised a comfortable apartment in the schoolhouse.³⁹

A master was soon appointed, but the school still advertised for an usher and a scribe in April, indirectly reminding applicants that according to Maryland law only members of the Church of England were "properly qualified." (A Somerset county advertisement explicitly stated this requirement.)⁴⁰ Since many of the competent schoolmasters in America were Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Maryland schools suffered because of this prejudicial law. (After the Revolution, John McDowell, a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian and a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, would be appointed the first president of St. John's.)

Throughout 1773 the assembly kept a jealous eye on the King William's trustees, even though the school was supported by private contributions and an endowment. It enacted a curious bill voiding any gift that would enlarge the school's annual income beyond £200. The "Act of 1696" had allowed £120 for support of a master, an usher and a scribe; the assembly in 1773 recognized that now much more income was needed, but thought there was a limit. Perhaps it sensed that the trustees were overambitious to govern the hoped-for college and felt it necessary to curb the trustees' efforts. On the other hand, this act strengthened the role Annapolitan trustees could play in the management of King William's: it empowered seven of them to act if prior notice of meetings was given to those who resided in Annapolis and to any others temporarily there at meeting time.⁴¹

In October 1773 William Eddis wrote a friend in England that the assembly had "endowed and founded a college for the education of youth in every liberal and useful branch of science . . . to be conducted under excellent regulations." The next October he wrote that the brig *Peggy Stewart* had been burned with all its cargo of tea in the Annapolis harbor. In September 1775 he was "alarmed by the beating of drums and a proclamation for the inhabitants to assemble at the Liberty Tree" and resolved to compel all Loyalists to quit the city. No such resolve was promulgated but by the fall of 1776 he and Governor Eden had left Maryland.⁴² Two months earlier the Free School building had become a military hospital.⁴³

After independence, the General Assembly continued to control Maryland schools. The Constitution of 1776 required all men in positions of public trust, including school trustees, to take an oath of allegiance to the new state, an oath many refused to take. As a result the King William's board and many county boards were decimated. To reconstitute the King William's board, the assembly in 1778 declared "from the absence of some, disqualification and resig-

nation of others . . . it would be legal for three trustees [of King William's School] to meet together, consult, direct and manage the affairs of the said school and execute the several powers and authority . . . as the whole of them together." These three trustees were instructed to meet before 15 July 1778, to elect the number of visitors required by charter and to take the oath of fidelity to the state.⁴⁴

Four of the trustees who had signed the deed of sale for Surveyors Forest in 1769 had taken the oath: Charles Carroll the Barrister, Thomas Johnson, Nicholas Maccubbin and John Ridout. At least three of them in all likelihood appointed the new members necessary to reconstitute the board as instructed by the assembly.

Within two years hopes for a college were again dashed: In 1780 the state confiscated all money accumulated in the locked iron chests as directed by "An Act for the Emission of Bills of Credit" (1773) to pay for "a just war."⁴⁵ The assembly promised that the \$42,666.67 intended for the establishment of a college would be replaced as soon as possible after the return of peace. In the same year legislators passed a law to regulate ordinaries, effective for seven years, empowering the state to collect license fees and impose fines for breach of law.⁴⁶ (A restatement of this law in 1784 would give this revenue by charter to St. John's forever.)

Finally, in 1782, the General Assembly chartered a Maryland college. But it was on the Eastern Shore. Under the master-ship of the Reverend William Smith, former provost of the College of Philadelphia, the Kent County Free School had attracted over one hundred students. Its board (with Smith as chairman) had collected subscriptions worth £5,992. On the strength of this success, it had petitioned the assembly to charter the school as a college, to be called "Washington College." According to the charter, one trustee was to be elected from each group of subscribers who together pledged £500; later the St. John's charter included a like plan, except that groups pledging £1,000 selected trustees.

The Washington College charter pro-

posed that a Western Shore college should also be founded to form, together, one state university.⁴⁷ Accordingly in 1783 Governor Paca asked the General Assembly to give special attention as soon as peace was established to the support of "Religion and Learning."⁴⁸ After the signing of the Treaty of Paris in January 1784 the King William's trustees, and others, anticipated establishment of a Western Shore college. Undoubtedly they hoped that it would be located in Annapolis. In August 1784 King William trustees announced that the new master, the Reverend Ralph Higginbotham, "will open school for the education of young gentlemen in the Greek and Latin languages, preparatory to their entering college."⁴⁹ On 3 December 1784 a group met in Annapolis to promote a Western Shore college and choose six subscription agents, three clergy and three laymen, to prepare a bill for founding a college. This bill would be the college charter.

Although many legislators were ready to found a Western Shore college as part of a University of Maryland, it was necessary to persuade them to fund it. The three clerical subscription agents who framed the St. John's charter (Patrick Allison and John Carroll besides Smith) wrote as a provision that the college would receive £1,750 annually from the state. They gave secondary importance to acceptance of the governor's mansion offered by the state, should the college settle in Annapolis. Since some delegates wanted the college located in their home districts, the agents may have thought it politic—as well as just—to postpone the choice of location until the number of trustees required to constitute a board was elected from the Western Shore county subscription lists. They did provide that the choice of a college site should be the first order of business once a duly constituted board was seated. If the board chose Annapolis, it could then accept the mansion as a college building. The charter set a deadline of 1 June 1785 for the election of thirteen trustees who were to meet and decide upon a location of the college by 1 August of that year.⁵⁰

The charter establishing St. John's Col-

lege was entitled "An Act for founding a College on the Western Shore of this state, and constituting the same, together with Washington College on the Eastern Shore, into one University by the name of the University of Maryland." It passed the House of Delegates 30 December 1784. Paragraph 22 amended the act for licensing ordinaries passed in March 1780, stating that "the money hereafter collected from ordinary licenses on the Western Shore (with the exception of the city of Annapolis and Baltimore), shall . . . be subject to the orders of the visitors and governors of St. John's College." This revenue, with that from several other taxes, would compose the £1,750 yearly income the charter promised.

Despite such care not to offend the counties and Baltimore, opposition developed as soon as the appropriation for St. John's became known and a similar but lesser one (£1,250) was committed to Washington College in the same session. A "Planter" complained in the *Maryland Gazette* that the "state is burthened with two thousand five hundred pounds per year for ever for the support of *two colleges*, where *gentlemen's children are to be educated at the public expence*." An able rebuttal argued that in 1773 "An Act for the Emission of Bills of Credit" had appropriated \$42,666.67 or £4,000, for the establishment of a seminary but that "the calamities of war rendered it necessary to unlock the chests, but with a solemn pledge . . . that the money should be replaced as soon as possible and applied for a seminary of learning." The writer had carefully calculated that if that money had been invested, it would by 1785 have yielded at least £3,000 a year.

Thus it appears . . . that the college laws are not any new burden on the people, but only a wise and easy provision for the payment of interest on an old debt . . . and when every other Debt was to be funded and provision made for the payment of interest till the capital on it be discharged it would been very unjust that the *Debt for the rising generation*, our own children and posterity, though one of the oldest, and contracted at the com-

mencement of the war, should alone remain neglected . . . and . . . the taxes imposed are not any except on those who choose to pay them.⁵¹

It took longer than expected to collect subscription lists totaling £1,000 each, and to elect the thirteen trustees. So the 1 August deadline passed without the choice of a college site. Contingency plans offered by the charter for selecting a site were not adopted but a bit of advice was: "In the meantime the said agents shall with all diligence increase the number of subscriptions."

In November the agents asked the assembly to give them until March 1786 to elect the requisite trustees and begged it to allow the following alterations in the charter provisions for setting up a working board: that *seven* (instead of thirteen) trustees elected by 1 March 1786, plus four agents, be allowed to choose a college site, if seven of these eleven agreed on a place; and that nine trustees elected by 1 March 1786, be empowered to conduct college business. The assembly approved these alterations.⁵²

Like other subscribers King William's was allowed one trustee of its choice for each £1,000 it pledged to St. John's. Unlike other subscribers it did not make its pledge to the subscription agents, but waited until it could negotiate the terms of its conveyance with a St. John's board, as one corporation to another. And before making its pledge, it would ask the St. John's board to grant certain concessions.

On 28 February 1786, in the presence of five agents, nine men elected by subscribers were seated as trustees of a St. John's College board. By a charter amendment, nine were enough to conduct business. But instead of voting as a first order of business on a college site, they considered a "Proposition laid before the Visitors and Governors by the Rector and Visitors of Annapolis School [King William's School] in pursuance of 'An Act of Assembly for Consolidating the funds of King William's School with the funds of St. John's College.'" A committee representing King William's School requested that the "two trustees they were entitled to elect by virtue of the two thousand

pounds they were prepared to pledge immediately, be sworn in as visitors on the St. John's board in time to vote on the location of the college." The committee requested also that "until the college shall be compleated," the school trustees might withhold the residue of their funds (more than £1,000) to maintain their school, now called the Annapolis School. "But they thought that whenever they subscribed it, they should be entitled to the election of another trustee." The St. John's board granted the King William's board both these requests, but refused a request that would allow an Annapolitan donating £1,000 to fill any St. John's board vacancy that might occur in the future.⁵³ Awaiting decision from King William's on these terms, the St. John's board adjourned until 1 March.

King William's and St. John's could profit from each others assets. King William's had long wanted to grow into a college, and St. John's, like all other early American colleges, realized that it had to be founded upon a grammar school. But it was prudent for King William's, obliged as it was to conduct a school for Annapolis youths, to require some indication that the college would settle in Annapolis before parting with its property. The college, on the other hand, had left the question of location undecided until the subscribers had elected enough trustees to constitute a board. The state, on its part, had offered four acres of ground on which the unfinished governor's mansion stood, if the college settled in Annapolis. There was at least one other town contending for the college, Upper Marlborough, situated near the center of the Western Shore, a trading market for tobacco where occasional theatricals and fall and spring races were held. But the town had no church in 1786, and the Prince George's county school was in Lower, not Upper Marlborough. King William's board had £2,000 in cash, which if subscribed, would entitle it to elect two trustees to join the nine already seated on the St. John's board. Two of these, John Claggett and William Beanes from Prince George County, might be expected to vote for Upper Marlborough. The other

seven—William West, Nicholas Carroll, John H. Stone, Richard Ridgeley, Thomas Stone, Samuel Chase, John Thomas—were likely to vote for Annapolis.

The King William's board apparently tested St. John's when it insisted that its two trustees be seated before the college site was voted upon. Such a postponement suggests a breach of the charter—unless in fact a merger was contemplated. King William's had forfeited its chance to seat its appointees with the first nine trustees by not making its pledge to the subscription agents, who would have conducted an election for the two trustees in time to seat them with the other nine. Five of the nine trustees had to agree to the postponement, or charter variance, to pass it. If at least five voted aye, then the King William's board could anticipate that these five plus its two would ensure a decisive vote for Annapolis. (Later balloting revealed that actually seven of the original nine trustees favored Annapolis.) The St. John's board acceded to King William's request that it be seated before voting on a site, and King William's dropped its request that future vacancies on the St. John's board be filled with Annapolitans. King William's was mainly concerned that the college settle in Annapolis. It expressed no reservations about the way the St. John's board was constituted: both St. John's and King William's boards appointed new members in "perpetual succession." And the two King William's appointees who joined the original nine St. John's trustees could expect to participate in the choice of thirteen other trustees to complete a board of twenty-four.

Further protection of King William's interest was included in the "Act of Consolidation" of 2 March 1786. It proposed a split of the King William's corporation into two parts: one part to become St. John's College on 1 March 1786, the other part to operate the Annapolis School, until the college opened. If the terms under which King William's conveyed its funds and property to St. John's College should be violated, then the Rector and Visitors of Annapolis School could sue to retrieve the funds and prop-

erty, and the governor and council of Maryland were instructed to reconstitute the King William's board, which would resume its trust "to fulfill the intentions of the founders and benefactors of the said school, in advancing the interests of piety and learning."⁵⁴

The merger greatly pleased Rev. William Smith, the most energetic of the subscription agents. Smith had canvassed for subscribers during January and February, had taken an active part in King William's-St. John's negotiations, and viewed the culmination of his mission as reason for triumph and relief. He wrote on 5 March:

I have been but two Nights in my own House for these 4 weeks past, & am just returned from a Journey of at least 300 miles, which became necessary in the final establishment of our Colleges, & opening the Western Shore one (called St. John's) which is now fixed at Annapolis, & every Thing on my Part as an *agent* appointed by Law for founding & opening it, is now happily & successfully finished, the Subscription being above 12000 pounds beside the public Endowment of 1750 pounds per annum.⁵⁵

Of the £12,000 which Smith mentions, King William's would contribute at least one fourth. Moreover, the college had no life until the two corporations merged; no business was conducted until the St. John's board had accepted the terms submitted by the King William's board and those contained in the "Act of Consolidation." Of the two institutions, King William's was the viable one in 1786, the flourishing preparatory school ready to grow into a college. Furthermore, it was imbued with an almost century-old determination to survive. By necessity and by design, St. John's College built upon King William's School.

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I am grateful to Mary Fletcher, James Tolbert and Phebe Jacobson for reading all three articles on King William's School with a critical eye and for the corrections and suggestions they offered for the improvement of the text.

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1. "A Journal of the Proceedings of the School" and "Book of Accounts" of King William's School are referred to in a suit brought by St. John's College to recover back rent and interest from the King William's School lease of Kentish House in 1769. See Chancery Records 141f, 215-254, March 1830.
2. Visitors and Governors of St. John's College, *An Appeal to the People of Maryland*, Annapolis, August 1868 (Annapolis: Robert F. Bonsall, 1868); Basil Sollers, "Education in Colonial Maryland" in B. C. Steiner's *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, D.C.: Contributions to American Educational History, #9, 1894). Thomas Fell, *Some Historical Accounts of the Founding of King William's School and its Subsequent Establishment as St. John's College* (Annapolis, 1894). *Archives of Maryland*, "Establishment of a College," 56: LXVI-LXVIII; 58: LV-LVIII; "Schools," 58: LIV-LV.
3. George H. Callcott, *A History of the University of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1966), ch. 1. Morris Radoff, "King William's School" in *Buildings of the State of Maryland* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, #9, 1954), 43-46. Tench Tilghman, "The Founding of St. John's College" *Maryland Historical Magazine* 44 (June, 1949):85-92.
4. *Archives of Maryland*, 64:242-253.
5. Malcolm may have helped write the college bill of 1750 (*Gazette* 8 August 1750): later the trustees of Queen Anne's County school dismissed him as master for writing a too elaborate curriculum. He was called Philo-Dogmaticus in the Tuesday Club (an earlier master of KWS was called Mr. Pedanticus in the Ugly Club). He was Sharpe's appointee to the Commission on Boundaries to supervise the laying of the Mason-and-Dixon Line between Maryland and Pennsylvania because he was the ablest mathematician in Maryland (*Archives* 9:471, 466, 224, 233; 14:556). He was the author of *A Treatise of Musick, Speculative, Practical and Historical* (Edinburgh, 1721); *A New System of Arithmetick, Theoretical and Practical* (London, 1730); *A Treatise of Bookkeeping ... in the Italian method of Debtor and Creditor* (London, 1731). For the most complete account of Malcolm see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980) 1:568. See also J. A. Leo Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972).
6. *Maryland Gazette*, 1 and 8 August 1750.
7. *Gazette*, 20 November 1755.
8. *Gazette*, 10 May 1759.
9. *Gazette*, 20 November 1755.
10. Clajon was undoubtedly aware of the curriculum taught at the Academy of Philadelphia, where the English "tongue" was taught gram-

- matically and as "a language." Benjamin Franklin, "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania," Philadelphia, 1749 in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1959-), 3:395-421. Franklin quotes copiously from John Locke's *Treatise of Education*, and William Fordyce's *Dialogues*. See also William Smith, *A general Idea of the College of Mirania*, (New York: J. Parker and Weyman, 1753).
11. *Gazette*, 28 April 1757.
 12. *Gazette*, 10 May 1759.
 13. *Archives*, 9:375 (Calvert to Sharpe 17 March 1760).
 14. *Archives*, 9:402, 277, 438-9. Realizing that Sharpe was very much hurt by the scolding proprietary letter (above, n. 13), Lord Baltimore sent an appeasing gift, a snuff-box bearing a masonic device on its lid, a representation of Solomon's Temple. Sharpe hoped the gift "would convince at least one of my Enemies here who will see it and know from whom it come that all Attempts to prejudice me in his Lordship's Opinion have been very unsuccessful." Undoubtedly there were freemasons in the lower house who were pressing for the two great interests of the lodge, the promotion of commerce and the education of the rising generation. Perhaps some of his enemies attended the Annapolis St. John's lodge, which was active throughout the middle sixties, years when the brigantine *Free Mason* lay between voyages in the Annapolis dock.
 15. *Archives*, 56:488-494.
 16. *Archives*, 56:496, 7.
 17. *Archives*, 9:523.
 18. *Archives*, 9:545. Lord Baltimore emphatically said he would not allow such a "strip of his right."
 19. *Archives*, 14:114 (Sharpe to Calvert, 21 August 1763).
 20. *Archives*, 58:309, 310; 393, 4; 402-4.
 21. *Archives*, 14:152.
 22. *Archives*, 14:194.
 23. *Archives*, 14:152, 153.
 24. *Gazette*, 30 May 1765.
 25. Thomas Harrison Montgomery "List of Scholars Entered at the Academy and College up to and Including the Years 1769" in *A History of the University of Pennsylvania from its Foundation to A.D. 1770* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs Co., 1900) 530-554.; University of Pennsylvania, *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculates of the College 1749-1893* (Philadelphia, 1894).
 26. The Rev. Jonathan Boucher scorned the education received in American colleges. Of the College of Philadelphia and Princeton he wrote, "they were the chief nurseries of all that frivolous and mischievous kind of knowledge which passed for learning in America. . . . They pretend to teach everything, without being really competent to the teaching of anything. . . . Their chief and peculiar merit was thought to be in Rhetoric and the belles lettres . . . Hence in no country were there so many orators, and so many smatterers." Virginia, according to him, was more guilty of appointing them as their rectors than Maryland, for in Virginia the clergy were elected by the vestries . . . in Maryland, they were in the prerogative of Lord Baltimore. But even in Maryland, congregations had influence on governors." (Jonathan Boucher, *Reminiscences of an American Loyalist* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1967) 101.
 27. *Archives*, 32:145, 6. Daniel Dulany was from Annapolis. The other three were from the Eastern Shore: Henry (Somerset County), Goldsborough (Dorchester), Hooper (Dorchester, member of county school board, bequeathed ten pounds to KWS); see Edward C. Papenfuss et al, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) v. 1. See also *Archives* 14:126 ("No Right without a Remedy").
 28. *Archives*, 14:327, 8.
 29. B. C. Steiner, 42.
 30. *Gazette*, 22 May to 9 October 1766.
 31. See *Gazette* 7 November 1768, for account of firing of Dakein. He and the Rev. Bennet Allen learned that the Dulany intended to replace them both with the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, who could serve as both rector of St. Anne's and master of King William's. In defending Allen, Dakein thought he was defending Lord Baltimore's prerogative to appoint the clergy. The *Gazette* refused to publish Allen's unsigned letters delivered by Dakein. So the story of their troubles first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*. Dakein lost his job, and Allen, who was thoroughly disreputable but had Lord Baltimore's backing, was awarded Maryland's most lucrative parish, in Frederick.
 32. Daniel Dulany to Walter Dulany, 11 October 1767 (Dulany Papers MHS 1264).
 33. *Gazette*, 20 April 1769. An Act of 1750 gave them permission to sell.
 34. *Land Records of Dorchester County*, Old #23, 1768-1770, 228-292. An earlier attempt to sell 8 May 1764 failed; see *Chancery Record* 14:f215.
 35. *Gazette*, 6, 14 September 1769. Books lost: Ferguson's *Lectures on Astronomy and Philosophy*; *A Volume of Projectiles*; Mather's *Young Man's Companion*; *The Seaman's Calendar*; *Seaman's Daily Assistant*.
 36. *Archives*, 62:4.
 37. *Archives*, 63:34, 5.
 38. *Archives*, 64:242-253.
 39. *Gazette*, 18 November 1773.
 40. *Gazette*, 7 April 1774, 26 May 1768.
 41. *Archives*, 64:379, 80 ("An Act for King William's School in Annapolis").
 42. William Eddis, *Letters from America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).
 43. *Gazette*, 31 July 1776.
 44. William Kilty, *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis: Frederick Green, 1799), 1 (June 1778), ch. 5, "Supplementary Act to the Act Entitled; 'An Act for King William's School in Annapolis 1696.'"

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46. Kilty, 1(1780), ch. 24, "An act for licensing and regulating ordinaries."
47. William Smith. *An Account of Washington College in the State of Maryland* (Philadelphia: Joseph Cruikshank, 1784).
48. *Archives*, 48:408, 9.
49. *Gazette*, 26 August 1784.
50. Kilty, 1(November 1784), ch. 37, "An Act for founding a college on the Western Shore and constituting the same, together with Washington College on the Eastern Shore, into one University by the name of the University of Maryland."
51. *Gazette*, 21 April 1785; also "An Act to provide a permanent fund for the further encouragement and establishment of Washington College," in Kilty, 1784, ch. 7.
52. Kilty, 2 (November 1785), ch. 2, ("A supplement to the act entitled An 'Act for founding a college on the Western Shore, etc.'").
53. St. John's College, *Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors*, 28 February, 1 March 1786, (in St. John's Archives).
54. "An Act for Consolidating the Funds belonging to King William's School in the city of Annapolis with the Funds of Saint John's College" in *Laws of Maryland made and passed at a session of Assembly 1785* (Annapolis: Frederick Green) ch. 39.
55. William Smith to Hon. Thomas Willing, Esq., President of the Bank of America, 5 March 1786, William Smith MSS, v. 1, #101, Archives Historical Collection of the Episcopal Church, Austin, Texas.

Annapolis on the Threshold

SHIRLEY V. BALTZ

A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE VIRGINIA legislature on 25 January 1786 called upon the states to appoint commissioners to attend a convention "to take into consideration the trade of the United States" and "to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and their permanent harmony." When some of the Virginia commissioners named in the resolution met shortly thereafter, they settled on Annapolis as the place, and the first Monday in September as the time, of the proposed meeting and sent a message to that effect to the executives of the other states.

In the next eight months the name of the city would be heard in the chambers of all the state legislatures and appear in their printed proceedings; it would be seen in newspapers throughout the country and mentioned in the discussions and private correspondence of many leading political figures. Except for a brief consideration and rejection of the matter in the Maryland Assembly and a few scattered lines in the *Maryland Gazette*, however, the convention that assumed such national importance was hardly acknowledged in the city where it occurred. The daily course of life in Annapolis went on virtually undisturbed, filled mainly with ordinary events.

One of the reasons the Virginians selected Annapolis was its central location. Its distance from the influence of Congress and centers of commerce favored it as well. During the colonial period Annapolis had been an official Port of Entry

for Maryland and had engaged in a thriving trade with Europe and the West Indies. Vessels of all sizes had anchored in its harbor as their cargoes were discharged or loaded. After the Revolution, however, its commercial importance had faded, a decline apparent to Johan David Schoepf in 1783. The German traveller attributed an absence of shipping to both "the situation and character of the harbor. The roads leading into the interior are crossed by divers streams, and the inconvenience arising from so many passages by ferry has brought it about the people prefer to bring their produce to Baltimore and fetch thence what they need, which they can do by unbroken land-carriage." In addition the water off Annapolis had become infested with worms which, in a few months, could "eat through the ships' bottoms and render them useless."¹ As a result, Baltimore, experiencing phenomenal growth in the same period, had overtaken and surpassed Annapolis as the major port of Maryland.

For the tiny capital city the mid-1780s was a time of transition. As 1786 dawned, it seemed on the brink of losing even the state government. A campaign to move the capital to Baltimore was under way and had not yet been resolved by the legislature then sitting. One Aristides came to the defense of Annapolis in a long letter, addressed "To the People of Maryland," in the 19 January edition of the *Gazette*. The size of Baltimore would present too many distractions from, and undue pressures on, the public business, he declared, while Annapolis was "the seat of elegance, property, and refinement of manners" and could afford the members of the assembly "elegant fare, comfortable lodging, and quiet apart-

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ments, remote from all the noise and bustle of business which is altogether inconsistent with calm thought and sober deliberation." He concluded with the prospect that if such a law were passed, within a half century Annapolis would be reduced "to a heap of ruins," causing "a deep and lasting injury" to the state. Fortunately a petition from the citizens of Annapolis, "praying no law may pass for the removal of the seat of Government," persuaded the legislature to vote against the bill, and it died without further consideration. By the middle of January the city with a sense of relief could turn its attention to the future.²

At midnight, along with the new year, lexicographer Noah Webster entered Annapolis by boat from Baltimore. He estimated the number of houses at 260, describing it as a pleasant place with "more elegant houses in proportion than any town in America."³ Indeed the Georgian mansions in the city, surrounded by gardens and separated by open spaces, impressed most visitors, who also appreciated the politeness and hospitality they encountered. "Luxurious" and "opulent" were the terms frequently applied to the life styles of the prominent families. Until 10 January Webster, reading several lectures on the language and on America, stimulated the minds of the audiences that gathered in the State House to hear him. One evening he attended a brilliant dancing assembly, previously announced as the first of the new season, indicative too of the social interests which prevailed. Annapolitans had been characterized by a member of the Continental Congress in 1784 as "almost universally disposed to enjoy themselves," and probably had not changed. Balls, plays, concerts, dinners, hunting, horse-racing, "every species of Amusement," were thought to be more to their liking than the dull affairs of business.⁴

Beside the balls, which were generally held fortnightly, there were other diversions. For those inclined to learn "the newest and most approved French and English dances," Louis Roussell planned to conduct a dancing school from April till December. Instruction would begin,

however, only if at least thirty persons were enrolled. With the renewal of racing in 1783, after its suspension during the war years, gentlemen turned again to the breeding of thoroughbred horses. Through the spring the pages of the *Gazette* were sprinkled with the names of stallions standing in stud, and in August the Jockey Club met at Mann's Tavern to clarify, if necessary, any details governing the races to be held in Annapolis on the second Thursday in November. Although the theater on West Street was devoid of theatrical productions for the greater part of 1786, on 14 September it was announced that the Old American Company of players would open on 2 October with a program of six plays a week.⁵

Evidently reading was another pastime, for the lending library of bookseller Stephen Clark, housed in his shop on lower Church Street, had been popularly supported for several years, and private collections of books were common. Some of the new publications available were *Ellicott's Almanack* for the year of our Lord, 1786, *The Journal Of The Convention Of The Protestant Church* held at Christ Church, Philadelphia, and a history of the last session of the assembly, "with remarks on the principal transactions." The Reverend Higginbotham, rector of St. Anne's Church, was able to offer the new prayer books he had received from Philadelphia at one dollar a copy, and Aristides converted his letter about the removal of the capital to Baltimore into a published pamphlet.⁶

The gentry might have time for the pursuit of pleasure, but for most people, the mere mechanics of providing shelter, food and clothing consumed long, long hours. Many males followed the well-established pattern of beginning as an apprentice, climbing to journeyman and finally achieving master designation in a trade. Artisans and merchants started their days in the early daylight hours and worked till dusk, endeavoring to collect sufficient accounts due to keep them solvent. Health undoubtedly was a concern for medical treatment was primitive in comparison to modern practices, and people were most often carried off by an

undefined "long and painful illness." Who received an education was decided more by economics than any other factor. Properties were bought, leased and sold, and in this particular year, almost anyone skilled in construction techniques was assured of steady employment.

Tavernkeeping as a livelihood was the choice of an especially large number of people, and through the 18th century it was one of the few professions to which a woman could turn. Only recently the legislature had vested in the Corporation of Annapolis the authority to regulate and to issue licenses to retailers, inn-keepers and sellers of spirituous liquors the fees arising therefrom to be used to defray the expenses of repairing the streets, cleaning the Dock and building a market house. In March of '86 a city by-law set the fees at £6 for an ordinary license, the same to be granted for one year, commencing each January, by the Mayor's Court. Within two months of receiving such license, the ordinary keeper had to provide six mattresses and warm coverings, over and above those used by the family, plus feed and stabling for six horses. Each January the Corporation also set the rates for the ensuing year of liquors, victuals, provender and other provisions and lodgings, requiring that a copy of the prices be furnished to all ordinary keepers and displayed by them "in a most public and convenient place" in their houses. For 1786 seventeen persons received ordinary licenses.⁷

Mrs. Smith's boarding school for young ladies commenced on 2 May. Vowing to "give the greatest attention to the health and improvement" to those entrusted to her care, Mrs. Smith proposed to teach them drawing, tambour, embroidery, open work, crowning, netting, with a variety of other fine work, the subjects usually reserved for girls. About the same time, at the request of several gentlemen, Alexander Gray began instructing pupils in vocal church music "in that part of the Divine service, as far as his knowledge extends." He aimed at holding sessions three nights a week over the next six months.⁸

A striking aspect of Annapolis in 1786 had to be the uncommon amount of construction in progress. Escaping the sounds of hammers, saws and other tools of the trade would have been difficult for anyone in any part of the town. The longest running project, dating back to before the Revolution, was the building of a second St. Anne's Church. On 8 March the legislature adopted an act supplementary to one passed in 1774. Under the original, trustees had been appointed to erect a new church in Annapolis. They had purchased materials but, due to the war, no construction was started. The materials lay in the Church Circle and during the years, piece by piece, they had disappeared. Now the trustees were authorized to bring suit against those who failed to account for, or to pay for, whatever they had taken. They were prepared too to contract with anyone willing to dig and remove earth where the foundation of the new St. Anne's was to be laid in the spring, "stone for the purpose being already at the place." Proposals for supplying the place and stock of bricks during the summer would be received as well. The work on St. Anne's would take six more years and, in the meantime, the congregation would continue to hold services in the theater on West Street. The new church wasn't completed and consecrated until 1792.⁹

Work on the State House, standing on the highest rise in town, would have been the most visible. The building, completed circa 1780 and used by the Continental Congress for its 1783-84 sessions in the city, was undergoing changes in the design of its roof in an effort to cure a leakage problem. Joseph Clark had been placed in charge of adding the new large, double-walled, wooden dome by the former Intendant, and the Governor and Council agreed in March to continue his contract. All through the summer disbursements were made to Clark for the repairs of public buildings with no breakdown as to where the money was spent. By the end of the construction season, in the fall, the roof of the State House was only partly covered and the dome only

partly enclosed; Clark was unable to estimate when the work would be completed and how much more it would cost.

Clark's contract covered his repairing the Governor's House as well. The huge brick mansion, which stood beyond King George Street, facing the water approach to the Annapolis harbor, had been owned by Robert Eden, the last provincial governor. His was among the properties confiscated during the war, but instead of selling it, the state elected to retain the mansion and to use it as the official residence of the governor. In December 1782 a report on its deteriorating condition cited countless panes of glass needing replacement, decay of the front and back stairs, and damaged and crumbling plaster caused by a badly leaking roof. Governor Paca had complained to the legislature in November 1784 about the mansion's ruinous state. By the fall of '86 the house was regarded as "nearly complete."¹⁰

The most intensive activity was centered in the nearby City Dock where several projects were underway, mainly under the sponsorship of the city. A definite effort was being made to upgrade the facilities which were needed if Annapolis hoped to retain even local trade. In March the assembly gave Annapolis authority to regulate the building of wharves in the port. The bill specified that at least three men were to be named wardens and it was their duty, in matters relating to wharves, to judge how far the facilities could extend into the water, what form of construction they could take and what materials could be used, "keeping in view the preservation of navigation of said port." Simultaneously, the Corporation hired Marmaduke McCain to lay and erect a wharf across the dock, connecting it with the wharf of Nicholas Carroll to one side, "making a Trunk to carry off the backwater . . . and letting the same into the front of the Wharf." By August the front was completed and the Corporation, noting the great expense of the work and the fact that the wharves would become useless unless they were filled without delay, decided that making

an exception and "permitting narrow wheel Carts with two or three horses to draw Dirt, Brush and Rubbish would contribute much" to finishing the undertaking. Through all of August and September the city treasurer paid bills for laborers, drivers, carts, drays, horses and endless loads of pine brush fill.¹¹

Most of the area to the rear of the wharves had been filled previously under the patronage of the merchants whose shops lined the Head of the Dock. In 1784 they had conveyed the space created to the city, specifying that within three years a market house had to be built on it. By mid-1786 the building, located at the foot of Church Street, was almost finished. Thomas Wilmer had submitted a bill for putting in the bases and caps to twenty piers and for laying 17,000 bricks, and by 6 September, Asa Hill had installed all of the wood-work.

In September the commissioners appointed by the various states began arriving in the city. James Madison, one of the first to show up, settled into George Mann's Tavern located at the corner of Conduit and Church streets, set back from, but facing, the latter. Although until recently historians have credited the Maryland State House with sheltering the Annapolis Convention, the lack of state records (e.g., Jub Fowler, housekeeper of the state house, made no request to the Governor and Council for permission to use any space in the building), the absence of a Maryland delegation and the existent expense accounts of James Madison and St. George Tucker, rendered by Mr. Mann, have led to the acceptance of his tavern as the true site.

The early Georgian building was constructed by Caleb Dorsey who in 1737 presented lots 45 and 46 in Annapolis "with the messuage or Dwelling House and Stable thereon lately built" to his daughter Achsah, widow of Amos Woodward. The property later descended to her son Henry Woodward. After Henry died in 1761, his widow, Mary, advertised the dwelling as standing on nearly two acres, "lying on three streets, in a most public

part of the city." The house was cataloged for sale as a very large, genteel and convenient brick dwelling, with a good brick kitchen and neat out-room adjoining.¹²

The successful bidder, at £810 sterling, was Henrietta Maria Lloyd Chew Dulany. During the next few years Mrs. Dulany, widow of Daniel Dulany the Elder, spent over £300 current money in upgrading the home. On her death in 1766, her will stating that the sums expended in the purchase and improvement of her dwelling were to be replaced and made good to her personal estate, she bequeathed the property to her son Lloyd Dulany on the condition that within one year he pay a sum to each of her other heirs. For almost a decade Lloyd Dulany resided in the house inherited from his mother. Twice, in those years, he had the honor of entertaining George Washington. In September 1771 Washington came to Annapolis specifically to attend the races, but managed to add a number of social functions to his schedule, including dinner with Lloyd Dulany on the 23rd. Washington visited Dulany again in 1773, but three years later Dulany, a Loyalist, left Annapolis for London where he and his wife, Elizabeth, lived through the war.¹³

In London an old feud with the Reverend Bennett Allen, former rector of St. Anne's Church, flared anew and in July 1782 led to a duel in which Lloyd was killed. His property in Maryland had already been confiscated, and almost simultaneously with his death, his personal belongings were being auctioned off at Middleton's Tavern in Annapolis. Due to a scarcity of specie, it was thought more advantageous to postpone the sale of his real estate until a later time, but on 2 September 1783, pursuant to an act of the legislature, his valuable house and lots were put up for bids and sold to George Mann for £2,745.¹⁴

Mann was an experienced inn-keeper, eventually earning "an exalted reputation" in "his professional vocations." His first appearance in Annapolis had been in 1779 and by 1780 he was managing Middleton's Tavern in the dock area. He remained there until March 1782 when he

advertised that he had moved "to the Indian King in Church Street, lately kept by Mr. McHard." His next step was the purchase of the Lloyd Dulany House. When in December 1783 Washington came to Annapolis to resign his commission as head of the Continental Army he was escorted to Mann's, "where apartments had been prepared for his reception." Although tradition says he stayed in the former Dulany house, there is no documentation to prove Mann provided accommodations in his new quarters a mere three months after he had acquired them. It is certain that on the 22nd Mann was responsible for preparing enormous quantities of food and drink. Over 200 guests were entertained at a public dinner given by the Continental Congress in honor of the general and held at the Assembly Room, "everything being provided by Mr. Mann in the most elegant and profuse stile." That night the Maryland legislature feted Washington with a ball in the beautifully illuminated State House and again the refreshments came from Mann. He was paid by the state for supper, wine, spirits, music, waiters, cards, candles and, inevitably, "cleaning the rooms." Representing Virginia, Washington made a trip to Annapolis in December 1784 to hold discussions with members of the Maryland Assembly about development of the Potomac waterway. The week of meetings, running through Christmas, took place in Mann's.¹⁵

By 1786 the tavern had a reputation as the finest in the city. To Englishman Samuel Vaughan, a guest the next summer, it ranked as an excellent public house and, with its second floor lodging rooms all wainscoted to the ceiling, one that "might vie with any tavern in England." Mann had prospered to the point of adding a large wing, running along Conduit Street, at one end of the main house. It contained a "room for company," measuring 66 by 21 feet, soon known as the Long Room. If the addition was not already completed, it was at least under construction at the time of the convention.¹⁶

Although Monday, the 4th of Sep-

tember had been fixed for the convening of the commercial convention, only James Madison and two delegates from New Jersey were punctual. Day by day the others trickled in, and it wasn't until a week later that the first official session was held. During that week of waiting undoubtedly some, perhaps all, ventured forth to observe the small city chosen as the site of their meetings. Their impressions of Annapolis the city are unknown, for no one, it appears, kept a journal. None of the residents seems to have commented on the twelve commissioners in attendance and only on the day of adjournment, 14 September, did the *Gazette* acknowledge their presence with two lines: "Several gentlemen members of the proposed commercial convention, are arrived in this city." It has been left to history, not the Annapolitans who witnessed it, to judge the true importance and significance of the Annapolis Convention of September 1786.

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"The Revolution is not Over": The Annapolis Convention of 1786¹

MERVIN B. WHEALY

THE BICENTENNIAL FOCUSED ATTENTION on the American Revolution as the most important event in the nation's history, renewing scholarly interest in the struggle for independence and public attraction to revolutionary heroes. Having rehearsed the victory at Yorktown and the achievement of peace in 1783, national attention naturally shifts to the events surrounding the Constitutional Convention of 1787. Fascination with the "Miracle of Philadelphia" should not surprise us; historians have argued persuasively that the Constitution represents the crowning achievement, the fulfillment of the American Revolution.² Despite the vast body of published materials dealing with the convention, however, historians have been unable to reach an agreement on its purpose, meaning, and consequences. Early studies probed the minds of the founding fathers and their economic interests. More recent work examines the nature of American politics during and after the Revolution, but little attention has been paid the events that led to the Philadelphia conference. Only by widening our investigation of those events will we develop a plausible explanation for what occurred at Philadelphia.

The vision, strategy, and timing of the dozen delegates gathered at the Annapolis Convention in the early fall of 1786 helped to resolve an immediate constitutional crisis. These frustrated and impatient nationalists moved Congress and the states off dead center; their unani-

mous recommendation to meet in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation represented an astute appeal to revolutionary promises of national unity.³ This brief trade convention called upon reluctant states and statesmen, who had been stymied by jealousies, suspicions, and differing political persuasions and allegiances, to embrace openly if reluctantly the need to reshape the federal government.

By 1785, leaders like Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, and Jay realized fully the inadequacy of the confederation government to meet the challenges of the future. Most embarrassing was the inability of Congress to raise sufficient revenue to finance government operations, service the national debt, or pay the interest due on foreign loans. No less critical was England's refusal to negotiate a commercial treaty allowing American shippers and merchants direct access to the British West Indies, cutting off an indispensable source of revenue and devastating the lucrative carrying trade. Congress responded with the 1784 Commerce Amendment, granting the federal government limited authority to regulate trade with any nation that refused to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States.⁴ In the meantime, the competing states enacted contradictory and inconsistent trade policies against England and each other. Immobilized by sectional rivalry, Congress stubbornly refused to accept a leadership role and aborted suggestions to revise the Articles of Confederation. Historians have written vivid accounts of the government's decline.⁵

Events in Maryland and Virginia illustrated the general malaise. The Old Do-

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minion, largest and wealthiest of the original states, and Maryland, its competitive Chesapeake Bay neighbor, quarreled over jurisdiction of the Potomac River and other adjoining waterways. Conflicting claims over coastal defense, fishing rights, custom duties, navigation lighthouses, and safety requirements arose from Lord Baltimore's charter, which seemingly granted boundary rights to the southern shore of the Potomac River. Differences between the states had produced tensions since 1778, when war prevented a compromise.⁶

After the war James Madison, having witnessed firsthand the weaknesses of the federal government and the decline of Virginia's economy, took special interest in both the problems of state rivalry and American commercial development. First serving as a three-term member of Congress and then as a leading member of the General Assembly, Madison strove to increase the powers of the federal government. Turning his attention to local matters after rejoining the House of Delegates in 1784, Madison, with the support of Jefferson, secured a bill to frame regulations touching the jurisdiction and navigation of the Potomac River. The legislature selected George Mason, Edmund Randolph, Alexander Henderson, and Madison—or any three of them—to meet with Maryland commissioners to frame “liberal and equitable regulations... as may be mutually advantageous to the two states,” and report on the results.⁷

Maryland responded by appointing three delegates to settle the “navigation of, and the jurisdiction over that part of the Bay of Chesapeake which lies within the limits of Virginia, and over the rivers Potomac and Pocamoke.” The legislature further stipulated Alexandria, Virginia, as the conference setting on 21 March 1785. After communicating this information to Virginia's governor, Patrick Henry, and receiving no official objections to the date or conference setting, three delegates set out for Alexandria at the appointed time. It was only later discovered that Governor Henry, having failed to contact the delegates of their appointments and the scheduling of the con-

ference, almost scuttled the entire project.⁸

Despite official tardiness and faulty communications, the Alexandria conference took place as scheduled. When the Maryland commissioners informed George Mason of their arrival in Alexandria and his appointment as a delegate, he joined Henderson at the conference site to await the arrival of Madison and Randolph. Shortly thereafter a letter from the Virginia attorney general convinced them to proceed without awaiting further arrivals. Largely due to the interest of the three Maryland delegates to conclude the matter by “forming a fair and liberal Compact, as might prove a lasting cement of Friendship between the two states,” they proceeded to resolve their differences. Without a copy of the Virginia resolutions, Mason and Henderson relied upon Washington's copy of the extended Virginia legislative resolution passed on 28 December 1784 to include Pennsylvania in discussing the problems related to Potomac navigation. The Virginia delegates accepted Washington's invitation to conclude the negotiations at Mount Vernon.⁹ There the conferees reached an amicable agreement concerning the joint usage and authority over the Chesapeake Bay, the Potomac and Pocomoke rivers. Aware of additional unresolved issues, the delegates proposed a congressionally sanctioned compact between the two states, mutual duties, and an annual conference to “confer on such Subjects as may concern the commercial interest of both states.” They requested that Pennsylvania enter into agreements with both states over the development and use of the Potomac River and its tributaries to the Ohio Valley.¹⁰ Few interstate agreements received such immediate and unanimous support as did the Mount Vernon Compact. Acting with dispatch, Maryland quickly placed its stamp of approval on the document.¹¹

On the Virginia side, Madison prepared to use the Mount Vernon Accords to lay the foundation for a farther-reaching reform in the October session of the legislature. While visiting Washington before embarking for the fall ses-

sion, Madison suggested that "advantage should be taken of the occasion" to urge "adoption of measures of relief to a greater extent that was generally contemplated."¹² Upon convening on October 17, the Virginia assembly appointed Madison chairman of a committee to prepare the compact for approval. Shortly after receiving Maryland's ratification, the legislators easily adopted it on December 30, 1785.¹³ Nevertheless, nationalists on the commerce committee failed to win approval of a broad measure granting Congress authority to regulate commerce between the states and with foreign nations, "under certain qualifications." Benjamin Harrison, former speaker, and Carter Braxton led the opposition. Despite Madison's spirited defense of increased federal powers and a dependable federal revenue, localist factions beat back this promising committee proposal. Successive amendments limited such a grant of power to thirteen years, while another provided that any trade regulation must gain the approval of two-thirds of the states in Congress. Clearly the localist factions that feared a northern monopoly of the carrying trade held the upper hand.

One day after adopting the crippled resolution, the House of Delegates quickly rescinded its approval by a vote of sixty to thirty, stating that the instructions to their congressional delegates did not, "from a mistake, contain the sense of the majority of this House." The chief obstructionists discovered that the third section limited to thirteen years the regulatory acts of Congress while neglecting to restrict the basic power of Congress to regulate trade. Confused for the moment, the leading nationalists divided over how to regain the initiative.¹⁴ Prepared for such an eventuality, Madison and friends proposed an alternative resolution, both reasoned and simple: it invited all the states to send delegates to a convention "to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situations and trade of the said States; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common in-

terest. . . ."¹⁵ Joseph Jones, Madison's former colleague in Congress and fellow member on the commerce committee, had suggested the outline of such a conference several months before. For political reasons John Tyler introduced the proposal. Former speaker of the House and proponent of increased federal control over commercial matters, Tyler nonetheless had the respect of the leading localists.¹⁶

Even this modest proposal, however, was not assured final passage; Madison wrote Washington that the substitute scheme would have fewer enemies and might perhaps be carried. When the commerce committee extended Maryland's resolution inviting Delaware and Pennsylvania to a yearly regional navigation conference to include all the states, Tyler revived the plan for a commercial convention. On the last day of the session, the House united around his moderate proposal and nominated Edmund Randolph, Walter Jones, St. George Tucker, Meriwether Smith, and Madison, while the Senate added George Mason, Donald Ross, and William Ronald. Hastily preparing for adjournment, the legislature relegated to the delegates the responsibility of selecting the site and time of the conference.¹⁷

While the resolution did not solve the present depression or other pressing problems, it did vaguely empower the delegates to examine trade circumstances beyond those of the states. Madison believed even this vague reference "liable to objections" and thought it might miscarry, but "as a recommendation of additional powers to Congress" it fell "within the purview of the Commission," he wrote, and could "lead to better consequences than at first occur."¹⁸ Meeting in the home of Benjamin Harrison 13 February 1786, a quorum of the delegates promptly selected the first Monday of September next and Annapolis as the time and place for the conference. Attempting to bypass the political and commercial influence of both New York and Philadelphia, they chose Maryland's capital as a compromise site.

Maryland soon doused hopes of unani-

mous state approval. Routinely receiving the Henry and Randolph communications, the Senate referred the request to the House of Delegates on March first. One week later the House responded positively, voting to accept the invitation, nominating eleven members from which seven would be selected by both houses to represent the state. The Mount Vernon commissioners Thomas Johnson, Samuel Chase, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, and Thomas Stone headed the suggested list. John Mercer informed Governor Henry that the resolution had passed the House of Delegates, "and are binding now unless the Senate have rejected them."¹⁹ To the surprise of the nationalists, the Senate chose to decline the invitation. Trotting out the fear of federal conventions in general, the Senate questioned the legitimacy of a convention meeting without congressional sanction; the Annapolis gathering might produce other meetings and unforeseen consequences. They believed that Maryland's adoption of the 1784 Commerce Amendment and the state's recent approval of the 1783 Revenue Amendment were more than adequate to handle the commercial and financial crisis overshadowing the nation. The Senate declared that

the meeting proposed, may be misunderstood or misrepresented in Europe, give umbrage to Congress, and disquiet the citizens of the United States, who may be therefore led erroneously to suspect that the great council of this country wants either the will or the wisdom to digest a proper uniform plan for the regulation of their commerce.

Senators even suggested that the convention could delay the adoption of the revenue and commerce amendments.²⁰

Thus news from Maryland was brief and disappointing. Daniel Carroll, President of the Senate, suggested to Madison that the convention had "a tendency to weaken the authority of the Congress" and would retard the Congress in gaining the federal impost, "if not entirely destroy it." He agreed, however, that Congress should handle problems involving national trade and commerce. Madison professed amazement that one could in-

terpret the Virginia resolution as infringing on congressional authority when its avowed purpose was directly opposite; he could not see how it would interfere with the revenue system proposed in April of 1783. Despite this unexpected setback, Madison, Jefferson, and Randolph considered Maryland friendly to the measure's purpose, only wishing the legislature had time to reconsider its hasty decision. Greatly disappointed at the news, Randolph wondered "what dreadful chasm will the refusal of Maryland create? A chasm," he concluded, "more injurious than any other of the delegates."²¹

Events below Virginia paralleled those in Maryland. The South Carolina legislature received the resolution as it debated ratification of the 1784 Commerce Amendment, which passed 11 March. Both houses considered the invitation to Annapolis, but in the rush for adjournment South Carolina declined it. If the states "had given powers to Congress to regulate all matters respecting Trade," Pierce Butler explained, "it would be inconsistent and have an appearance of either revoking or infringing on those powers."²² Georgia proved similarly disappointing. While the Virginia resolution appeared before the legislature in July, official journals recorded no action on it; Madison informed Jefferson on 12 August: "of the affairs of Georgia I know as little as of those of Kamskatska."²³ Affairs in North Carolina proved more pleasing. Virginia's invitation, reinforced by circular messages from Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, prompted Governor Richard Caswell upon advice from the Council of State to appoint five delegates to the convention. Since the legislature was not in session, Caswell proceeded to act on his own authority by supplying commissions to the delegates on 10 July, wishing them an agreeable tour and satisfactory results.²⁴ Madison and friends, while happy to receive the support of North Carolina, now realized that they must rely on united Northern support or the entire reform enterprise would die in its embryonic stage.

Three of the four New England states

enthusiastically fell into line. With few exceptions, Massachusetts state leaders favored clothing Congress with authority to regulate trade. Encouraged by the support of Governor Bowdoin, the General Court approved the Annapolis Convention resolution by a vote of 110 to 2, appointing as delegates Benjamin Goodhue, Caleb Davis, Tristram Dalton, and John Coffin Jones. Few states grieved as much as did Massachusetts over the British Orders in Council of July 1783, depriving the Americans of trade with the British West Indies. They retaliated as best they could.²⁵

No less harassed and angry with these British machinations were New Hampshire and Rhode Island; both states had passed similar laws as had Massachusetts against British shipping in their respective states, and both suffered from a scarcity of specie. New Hampshire was the first state to accept the Virginia invitation on 4 March, selecting as delegates three supporters of federal regulation of trade.²⁶ Immediately upon receiving the Virginia invitation, Rhode Island appointed as its commissioners Jabez Bowen and Christopher Champlin—both of whom, members of the legislature, were deeply involved in commercial activities. When Champlin declined, Samuel Ward replaced him.²⁷

Connecticut, however, expressed a different opinion on the matter. While strongly supporting the 1784 Commerce Amendment, it chose on other matters a path of deliberate obstruction to the interests of Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Resentful of the domineering commercial position of New York and Massachusetts, Connecticut refused to adopt uniform regulations against Britain. The principal problem wrote the *Connecticut Courant*, lay with an internal struggle between two "parties in the state, jealous of each other, *federal* men and anti-federal." A variety of ad hoc meetings and local conventions strove to block payment of the congressional requisition for the year and other plans for commutation of pay for Continental Army officers. Jeremiah Wadsworth recalled that while the

federal members favored the Annapolis plan, they feared stirring up antifederal resistance. The result was legislative stalemate.²⁸

New Jersey had sound reasons for favoring stronger central government. From the beginning of the Revolution, its leaders urgently had pressed Congress to incorporate trade regulation in the Articles of Confederation. In 1783 the state declared Perth Amboy and Burlington free ports, but the state's commercial development lagged far behind New York. Meantime, disproportionately burdened with debt, the state began issuing "revenue money" to public creditors, laying heavy taxes to redeem it over twenty-five years. Eager for unified trade regulations and for congressional debt assumption, New Jersey ratified the 1784 Commerce Amendment on 26 November 1785, and then proceeded to withdraw from Congress when New York refused to accept the 1783 Revenue Amendment.²⁹ An unprecedented congressional appeal brought the state back into the fold, but the substantive issues remained unresolved. During this period of threatened violence and chaos, the New Jersey legislature heartily endorsed the Annapolis Resolution. Ardent nationalists Abraham Clark, William C. Houston, and James Schureman were unanimously selected as delegates. More significant, though, was the suggestive charge to discuss "other important matters," a suggestion not to be taken lightly.³⁰

Pennsylvania and Delaware proved to be no less supportive of the convention plan. Philadelphia merchants, chafing under the prohibitive British trading practices, declared in 1785 that "nothing but a full power in Congress, over the commerce of the United States, can relieve it from its present oppressions." When Republicans wrested control of the General Assembly from the Constitution-ists in the spring of 1786, merchants won a favorable hearing of the trade convention proposal, gaining its ratification on 21 March. Instructed by the General Assembly, the Pennsylvania Council appointed Robert Morris, George Clymer,

John Armstrong, Jr., Thomas Fitzsimons, and Tench Coxe to assemble at Annapolis.³¹

Delaware soon followed its neighbor's example of appointing commissioners George Read, Jacob Broom, John Dickinson, Richard Basset, and Gunning Bedford to represent the state at Annapolis. The legislature chose wisely. John Dickinson, born in Talbot County, Maryland, enjoyed unequalled revolutionary reputation. His role in prerevolutionary events, followed by his drafting of the Articles of Confederation, service in the Continental Congress, and dual presidencies of the Supreme Executive Council of Delaware and Pennsylvania suited him well for this task. George Read headed the list in recognition of his leading position in state politics. He was a prominent member of the 1776 Delaware constitutional convention, a former member of Congress, judge of the Court of Appeals in admiralty cases, and a member of the legislative council from 1782 to 1788. He was no less noted for his efforts to improve the state's commerce and finances.³²

New York deserves additional comment, for nowhere did the paralyzing malaise of the Confederation reveal itself more prominently. A bewildering combination of conflicting interests worked to produce an unsettling and potentially explosive political situation. Political, social, and economic rivalries were caustic and intense. Governor George Clinton and upstate supporters opposed the 1783 Revenue Amendment—New York profited from the taxation of trade from Connecticut and New Jersey—and they successfully blocked the nationalists who wished to strengthen the powers of the Confederation government. In the spring of 1786, Alexander Hamilton and legislative friends Robert Troup, William Duer, and Robert Malcolm of New York City threw their support behind the Annapolis Convention proposal when they failed to win approval of the congressional amendment for revenues, and succeeded in naming as delegates six prominent nationalists: Robert R. Livingston, James Duane, Egbert Benson, Alexander Ham-

ilton, Leonard Gansevoort, and Robert C. Livingston.³³ Robert R. Livingston, state chancellor and a former Secretary of Foreign Affairs, along with friends of the anti-Clinton forces, brought prestige to the delegation. James Duane was mayor of New York City, a lawyer, and friend of Hamilton, while Benson, attorney general from 1777 to 1787 and a delegate to Congress from 1781 to 1784, grew warmer in support of a strong national government. No one could match the passion and conviction of Hamilton in devising a stronger federal government. For many years he had criticized the Articles of Confederation; he left no stone unturned in his pursuit of a "more perfect union."³⁴

Six months following Virginia's adoption of the trade conference proposal, nine states had answered its call. Leaders of the leading commercial states understood the need to strengthen Congress and they promoted reform on every level. Charles Pinckney recognized their plight when he pressured Congress to appoint a committee to consider the state of union. It recommended seven amendments, among them a proposal to give Congress "sole and exclusive power of regulating trade" with foreign nations and with each other. The debates scheduled for 14 August fell victim to another controversy—disagreement over how to instruct John Jay in his negotiations with Spain over the Mississippi issue. Opposed to Jay's request for a change in his instructions were southern delegates, who for economic and political reasons, championed the right of the western states to use the Mississippi River without Spanish hindrance.³⁵ Congress denied the original Jay request, but appointed a committee to confer with him and report back recommendations. The southern faction, led by Pinckney and Grayson, argued cogently for leaving the original instructions unchanged. On 18 August Grayson warned that if Congress adopted the Spanish position, the southern states would never grant those powers assumed to be forthcoming from the Annapolis Convention.³⁶

Domestic differences and foreign in-

trigues forced supporters of the trade convention to adopt a defensive strategy. They endorsed a partial, short-term remedy in the hope that its success would lead to a long-term solution. General Washington supported the Virginia proposal while acknowledging that many spokesmen advocated a general convention to correct the defects of the federal government; he feared that "matters are not yet sufficiently ripe for such an event." Since Congress had repeatedly failed in efforts of reform, Madison, too, favored the limited discussions proposed at the Annapolis conference. "If it succeeds in the first instance," he advised Monroe, "it can be repeated as other defects force themselves on the public attention, and as the public mind becomes prepared for further remedies." After all, reasoned Madison, the results of the convention would probably be of a permanent nature, which in itself made the effort praiseworthy. By May Madison was forced to speak out strongly against the general convention plan, agreeing with Monroe that "it would have an odd appearance for two conventions to be sitting at the same time, with powers in part concurrent." He also advised that Congress should suspend "measures for a more thorough cure of our federal system, till the partial experiment shall have been made."³⁷

When it was apparent that enough states would attend the convention, Madison set out on a tour of Philadelphia and New York City. He found little to encourage him. He confided to Jefferson that "Gentlemen both within and without Congress wish to make the Meeting subservient to a Plenipotentiary Convention for amending the Confederation." John Jay had earlier suggested the same to Washington and the Pinckney proposals were fresh on the minds of those to whom Madison spoke in New York.³⁸ While Madison himself entertained the prospect of extensive reforms in the future, he nevertheless reiterated his hope for immediate commercial reform. After reflecting on the condition of Congress that unsettling summer, even he despaired that anything would come of the up-

coming meeting. At that point, Monroe restated his fear that "the eastern men be assured mean it as leading further than the object originally comprehended." In his opinion, these states would form a regional Confederation "if they do not obtain that things shall be arranged to suit them in every respect. . . ."³⁹ At the same time, Massachusetts saw in the Virginia proposal a cleverly disguised maneuver to combine political reform with commercial proposals. Stephen Higginson observed that the delegates from Virginia and New York were great aristocrats who cared little about commercial objects. Rufus King and Theodore Sedgwick speculated privately that the sponsors of the measure actually opposed enlarging congressional powers over commercial matters. As a result of these suspicions, the earlier enthusiasm for the convention soon dissipated in Massachusetts and all the appointed delegates made excuses for staying home.⁴⁰

The prospects for a successful conference dimmed substantially by the time Madison departed for Annapolis the first week in September. Louis Otto, the French chargé d'affaires, apprised his government by mid-August that the conference would fail to assemble promptly and observed later that the northern delegates purposefully delayed their arrival to impede the discussion of the commercial crisis. New Hampshire's inability to send delegates, Pennsylvania's refusal to dispatch but one delegate on time, and New York's last minute decision to put in an appearance suggested a partial and all but fatal attendance at Annapolis. The demands of professional and private business also combined to undercut a comprehensive review of the commercial question. Those who did attend were anxious to conclude the business and tend to other important matters.⁴¹

New Jersey's three delegates arrived on 4 September, followed by Tucker and Randolph who joined Madison two days later. By week's end, Delaware's three commissioners were joined by Hamilton and Benson from New York and Tench Coxe from Pennsylvania.⁴² Expectations of a satisfactory representation quickly

faded by the end of the week at which time Madison informed his brother that "the prospect of a sufficient no. to make the meeting respectable is not flattering." Newspaper articles and private correspondence confirmed the impatient attitude gripping the restless delegates.⁴³ While delegates from Rhode Island and North Carolina tried in vain to reach the conference site on time, those from Massachusetts, upon hearing news from Rufus King in Philadelphia that an adjournment was being considered on 11 September, hurried on only to be met by the delegates from New York and New Jersey who were returning from the rump convention.⁴⁴

By the end of the first weekend together, it was obvious that the twelve delegates on hand sensed the futility of their task. Trying to salvage the limited commercial objectives of the conference, they turned instead to alternative proposals. To a man, they favored a major change in the affairs and organization of the Confederation; each participant had agonized over the proper remedy for the chaotic conditions of the Confederation. Hamilton, the preeminent critic of the Articles; Madison, the indefatigable bearer of reform measures; Dickinson, the early and persistent nationalist; Read, the champion of additional federal powers—all of them joined eight delegates in moving to snatch victory from the jaws of momentary defeat. A crisis of mind stimulated them to aim for higher ground. They faced squarely the unfinished task of the Revolution—a revolution incomplete, unfulfilled, disjointed, and dispirited—to create a national government worthy of support and allegiance.

The delegates assembled on 11 September, produced their respective credentials and promptly elected John Dickinson chairman of the convention. They assigned a committee comprising Benson, Clark, Coxe, Read, and Randolph "to consider of and report the measures proper to be adopted by this convention." Randolph's "Draft of the Report on representation" clearly revealed that the committee was to "consider and report the

measures to be taken under the circumstances of an imperfect representation." After inspecting the state resolutions, the committee concluded that it would be "inexpedient for this Convention . . . to proceed in the business committed them." Then, without recorded hesitation, the members recommended "in strong terms" that a future meeting of commissioners "be authorized to deliberate on all such measures" that would cement the happiness of the Union.⁴⁵

Focusing on the New Jersey resolution extending its commissioners' instructions beyond commercial regulations to include "other important Matters," the delegates found the justification to press for further reforms. St. George Tucker later informed Monroe that "the plan of the Convention had altogether miscarried." "They were unanimously of opinion," observed Hamilton, "that some more radical reform was necessary." Even to accomplish the limited commercial objectives, it was decided that "certain collateral changes in the federal system would be requisite, to which their powers in general could not be deemed competent." "[I]t appearing to the members that a . . . radical reform of the Federal polity" was necessary, later wrote, "they determined to waive the object for which they were appointed."⁴⁶

After delegates endorsed the future meeting recommendation, Abraham Clark, a New Jersey commissioner, formally moved that a committee be appointed to draw up a report expressing the conviction of the convention as a whole.⁴⁷ Clark, a noted antagonist of New York's unfair trade policies and an early proponent of measures that led to the Constitutional Convention, served well in this capacity. After selecting a committee for the task, the formal meeting adjourned until Wednesday, awaiting the final report.

No evidence remains to tell us the number of members or their status on the committee that formulated the final report. What emerged makes clear Hamilton's commanding position at this point. Madison later claimed that the New Yorker drafted the first message and

Benson unmistakably asserted that the committee unanimously requested his services.⁴⁸

How much advice Hamilton received on his first draft is unknown, but he could hardly escape suggestions from the close company he was keeping. Upon presentation of his labors on Wednesday, the entire body scrutinized all the proposals. Although the precise wording of the first draft is not recorded, it is known that Randolph, joined by other members, raised objections, presumably over the wording and general thrust of the report. Madison, recognizing the precarious nature of the enterprise underway, counseled Hamilton to yield to Randolph's objections, "for otherwise all Virginia will be against you." It would be difficult to imagine a more damaging approach than harsh rhetoric criticizing state prerogatives. This was not the time or the place to arouse the jealousy of provincial politicians.⁴⁹ Hamilton immediately softened his critical tone in order to win unanimous approval.

The committee reported its results on Thursday 14 September. Spirited discussions, combined with unspecified amendments, engrossed the better part of the day but in the end the Annapolis Convention Report was approved without dissent. The address did not materially differ from the spirit of the first draft. Having exceeded its original commission, the conference appealed to the New Jersey instructions, motivated as they were "by an anxiety for the welfare of the United States." This unusual step was justified, continued the report, because the comprehensive regulation of trade would "require correspondent adjustment of other parts of the Federal System."⁵⁰

The commissioners then reminded the states that it was widely recognized that the Confederation was plagued with "important defects." The embarrassing state of affairs merited, they argued, "a deliberate and candid discussion" for the purposes of uniting the states. The commissioners declined to detail the defects of the Confederation, but viewed them as being serious enough to "render the situation of the United States delicate and

critical." Unanimously the delegates called for a convention to assemble in Philadelphia the second Monday in May to "devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate" to the needs of the people, and report such recommendations back to Congress and the legislatures for ratification.⁵¹ Hamilton's forceful writing style and the counsel of the other delegates produced a document that Congress could not ignore. Having accomplished their task, the convention adjourned on 14 September.

Successfully maneuvering around an obdurate Congress and the provincial barons of the separate states, delegates to Annapolis laid the foundation for serious debate. They wrote a careful report, recommending that the states appoint delegates to the convention, the convention have only the authority to recommend new provisions, and Congress and the states confirm any changes in the Articles. The delegates employed "an infinity of circumlocutions and ambiguous phrases," reported Louis Otto, to demonstrate the "impossibility of taking into consideration a plan of commerce" without also discussing all the powers of the federal government. He nevertheless detected growing support for changes that would "place congress in a position not only to form resolutions for the prosperity of the union, but to execute them."⁵²

Nationalists sought approval of the latest convention call in both Congress and the state legislatures. It came as no surprise that sullen detractors in Congress temporarily blocked the proposal. The states began to fall into line one by one. It helped that Virginia in late November voted to attend the proposed meeting. Madison and Randolph strategically placed Washington at the head of the delegation, and the general's prestige appeared to tip the balance in many states. Fearing the consequences of a conference without federal sanction and control, Congress yielded to the convention plan already in progress on 21 February 1787.⁵³

While the Annapolis delegates did not participate in a preplanned, well-orchestrated conspiracy, they nevertheless manipulated the fears and confusion of the hour to achieve their own objects. Accomplishing what furtive planning and deceptive contrivances failed to produce, they represented the belief (as Benjamin Rush said) that the Revolution was not over.

REFERENCES

1. Benjamin Rush ended his appeal for national power to regulate trade in a newspaper article in the *New York Daily Advertiser* 13 June 1786, which was repeated in the *New-Brunswick Gazette* and the *New Jersey Gazette*, Trenton.
2. Gordon Wood persuasively argues this interpretation in his *Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), joined by numerous articles and books written by Edmund S. Morgan, the best being *The Birth of the Republic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957) and Clinton Rossiter, *1787, The Grand Convention* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957).
3. Biographical surveys of several delegates have included many of the salient facts: Irving Brant, *James Madison, the Nationalist, 1780-1787* (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948); and Broadus Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton, Youth to Maturity, 1775-1788* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957).
4. The centerpiece of the British plan was the 3 July 1783 Orders-in-Council prohibiting American trade with the British West Indies unless conducted by "British subjects, in British built ships, owned by his Majesty's subjects." See Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1853), VIII, 95. The Commerce Amendment was adopted by Congress for state approval on 30 April 1784, Worthington Chauncey Ford, et al, eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington: U.S. Printing Office, 1904-37), XXIV, 322.
5. One leading authority on the Confederation Period is Merrill Jensen and his authoritative study, *The New Nation, A History of the United States During the Confederation, 1781-1789* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967); Forrest McDonald, *E. Pluribus Unum* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965); and Richard B. Morris, "The Confederation Period and the American Historian," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, XIII (April 1956), 139-56.
6. Maryland, alarmed by the wording and claims of the Virginia Constitution of 1776, proposed a conference of delegates to resolve their differences and confirm mutual rights and usage of these waterways. See the *Votes and Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Maryland*, (VPSM), 25 November 19, 21-2 December 1777, pp. 10, 25, 29, and 30. The Virginia legislature concurred with the proposal, but the meeting never took place owing to war emergency conditions, *Journal of the House of Delegates, Virginia*, (JHDV), 19 December 1777.
7. Madison's reputation as an early leader in the struggle to broaden federal powers is recorded in his recently published papers, William T. Hutchison, et al., *The Papers of James Madison* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, vols. 1-10, 1962-; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, vols. 11-19), hereafter cited as *PJM*. Lance Banning has emphasized his defense of Virginia's interests while in Congress, "James Madison and the Nationalists, 1780-1783," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, XL (April 1983), 227-55; 28 June 1784, JHDV, 115.
8. 19 January 1784 *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Delegates, Maryland*, (VPHDM), p. 116, and 19 January 1785 VPSM. See George Mason to James Madison, 9 August 1785, *PJM*, VIII, 337-39, and editorial notes, 207, 271, 309, 325, and 435-6. Norman K. Risjord speculates that Patrick Henry, an opponent of increased national powers and secret meetings, deliberately refused to communicate resolutions or correspondence relating to this question, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 258 and 621.
9. Since Randolph did not mention the conference, Mason logically and correctly concluded that he nor Madison would attend the conference. See "Resolutions Authorizing an Interstate Compact on Navigation and Jurisdiction of the Potomac," *PJM*, VIII, 206-7; Madison to Washington, 1 January 1785 and Mason to Madison, 9 August 1785, *ibid.*, 208-9 and 337-8.
10. Reference to the Compact between Maryland and Virginia Relating to the Jurisdiction and Navigation of the Potomac and Pokomoke Rivers, 28 March 1785, is located in Robert Rutland, ed., *The Papers of George Mason* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), II, 814-23. Hereafter cited as *PGM*.
11. 22-24 November 1785, VPSM, and 22 November 1785, VPHDM, 11.
12. Edward Coles to W. C. Rives, 19 June 1857, "Letters of Edward Coles," Third Installment, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d series, VII and VIII (1927-28), 171.
13. *PGM*, II, 814, and JHDV, 177.
14. Madison supported James Monroe's proposal for an amendment to grant Congress the power to regulate commerce and the recommendation was prepared by a subcommittee assigned the task of responding to the petitions of distressed merchants and planters, 7 November 1785, JHDV, 22-3. There is little uncertainty about the original proposition emerging from committee and Madison's staunch support of federal solutions, 30 November and 1 December 1785, *ibid.*, 66-7.
15. Madison claimed authorship of the resolution in

- a letter to Noah Webster, 12 October 1804; Harry R. Warfel ed., *Letters of Noah Webster* (New York: Library Publishers, 1953), 256. See "Resolution Authorizing a Commission to Examine Trade Regulations," 21 January 1786, *PJM*, VIII, 471. While the wording is not recorded in the December minutes of the Assembly, Madison describes the resolution to Washington in a letter dated 9 December 1785, *ibid.*, 439.
16. Jones to Madison, 12 June 1785, *PJM*, VIII, 293, and Jones to Monroe, 18 June 1785, *James Monroe Papers*, Presidential Papers Microfilm, LC. Jones was Monroe's uncle and a collaborator with Madison regarding state and national affairs. Much of their correspondence is given over to the discussion of national commerce. Madison explained the strategy to Thomas Wharton, August 1827, Gaillard Hunt, ed., *Writings of James Madison* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900–1910), IX, 290.
 17. The depressing state of affairs is revealed by letters to Washington and Monroe, 9 August 1785, *PJM*, VIII, 436, 439, and Joseph Jones to Tr. [Hunter], 7 December 1785, Hunter-Garnett Family Papers, University of Virginia. The Virginia House of Delegates received the Maryland proposals on 5 December; on 13 December, a letter from George Mason describing Virginia's role in the Mount Vernon discussion was read and referred to committee. On 27 December 1785, Madison was appointed chairman of a special committee to oversee the ratification and the House approved it on 30 December 1785, *JHDV*, 7, 90, 112, and 117. See 10 January and 13 January 1786, *JHDV*, 136, 139–40, and 17 January 1786, *Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, 94. The cause and effect relationship is elaborated by Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics*, 262. The full story of the last hectic days is recalled by Madison; Madison to Jefferson, 22 January 1786, Madison to Monroe, 22 January 1786, and "Resolution Authorizing a Commission to Examine Trade Regulations," *PJM*, VIII, 470–71, 477 and 483.
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 19. 8 March 1786, *VPHDM*, 185; 9 March 1786, William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of the Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts* (Richmond: Krause Reprint, 1968), IV, 97.
 20. 11 March 1786, *VPSM*, November session, 1785, 84–5.
 21. 12 March 1786, *ibid.*, 88, *VPHDM*, 199, Hutchinson, *PJM*, VII, 496, IX, 75, Madison to Jefferson, 11 May 1786, Jefferson to William Carmichael, LaFayette, and Thomas Barclay, 22, 24, 31, August 1786, Julian Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954), IX, 519, and X, 286, 293, and 314.
 22. 10 January to 22 March 1786, *Journals of the Senate of South Carolina*, 57, 201, and 228. See Governor William Moultrie to Patrick Henry 27 June 1786, Patrick Henry Papers, MSS, LC, and Pierce Butler to Thomas Fitzsimons, 30 May 1786, Pierce Butler, MSS, South Carolina Historical Society, Miscellaneous Manuscripts.
 23. 28 July 1786, *Journal of the Assembly of Georgia*, 463, and Madison to Jefferson, 12 August 1786, Hutchinson, *PJM*, IX, 95. Next to the name of Georgia, Madison left a blank space; no records exist of the Georgia reaction.
 24. Walter Clark, ed., *The State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1900), XVIII, 511, 535, 542–43, 580–81, 584–85, and 587. See Caswell to Alfred Moore, 10 June 1786, Caswell to John Gray Blount and Hugh Williamson, 10 July 1786, *ibid.*, 650 and 682. Only three members accepted commissions, the other being Abner Nash, *ibid.*, 683.
 25. 23 March 1786, *Journals of the House of Representatives of the General Court of Massachusetts*, Massachusetts State Library, VI, 542. By 9 June 1786, all four delegates declined their appointments. Distrust of Virginia's motivation prompted their resignations. See *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts 1784–85* (Boston: Printed by Adams and Nourse, 1785; reprinted by Wright and Potter Printing Company, State Printers, 1893), chapter 8, pp. 439–43.
 26. *Journal of the Honourable House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire*, 167. Joshua Wentworth, John Sparknaw, and Thomas Martin were named delegates. At a later date, John Langdon and James Sheafe were added to the list.
 27. 28 June 1786, *Journal of the Senate of the State of Rhode Island*, 11; October 1785, John Russell Bartlett, ed., *Records of the State of Rhode Island* (Providence: Printed by the Providence Press, 1865; first A. M. Press edition, 1968), X, 140.
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 29. 25 June 1778, Ford, *JCC*, XV, 648; William Columbus Hunter, *The Commercial Policy of New Jersey Under the Confederation, 1783–1789* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1922); and see Edmund C. Burnett, *The Continental Congress* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941), 644.
 30. 14 March 1786, *Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of New Jersey*, February session, 1786, 65–6. Charles Pinckney made an eloquent plea on behalf of Congress 13 March 1786. 20 March 1786, *ibid.*, 72. The Council concurred the following day.
 31. 2 June 1786, *Pennsylvania Packet; Minutes of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania*, 10th Assembly, 2nd session, 227; and *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg: Theo. Fenn and Company, 1853), XV, 5.
 32. 15 June 1786, *Votes of the House of the Assembly of the State of Delaware*, 15, and the *Minutes of the Council of Delaware, State, from*

- 1776 to 1792 (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1887), 969–71. See the *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), VIII, 422–23, and William Thompson Read's *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1870).
33. The complex politics of New York is unraveled by Linda G. DePauw, *The Eleventh Pillar, New York State and the Federal Constitution* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966); see also the *Journal of the Assembly of New York*, Ninth session, 1786, 149–50. The Senate revised the Assembly list in April and the Assembly agreed on 5 May 1786. Of the six, only Robert C. Livingston was a merchant.
 34. The best summary of Hamilton's contribution to constitutional reform is offered by Mitchell, *Hamilton*, 356–69.
 35. Pinckney moved for a committee on 3 May 1786, and the report was dated 7 August 1786, Ford, *JCC*, XXX, 230 and 494–98. Jay deemed it necessary to sacrifice the Mississippi River demand for a lucrative trade agreement with Spain.
 36. *Ibid.*, 323. When Congress voted 7-5 on 29 August to grant Jay his request for a change in the negotiating stance, the five southern states served notice that they would never approve of a treaty denying the use of the Mississippi River. See 18 August 1786, Minutes of Proceedings of Congress, Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of the Members of Continental Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Published by Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1921–36), VIII, 438.
 37. Washington to Marquis de Lafayette 10 May 1786, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904–1937), XXVIII, 422. The same sentiments were expressed to Jay 18 May 1786, *ibid.*, 431. See 19 March 1786, *PJM*, VIII, 505. William Grayson disapproved of a "partial reformation." Grayson to Madison, 28 May 1786, *ibid.*, IX, 64. At the same time Madison made it clear that he did not generally support partial or temporary solutions, but the circumstances forced him to accept what Virginia was able to offer at the time, 13 May 1786, *ibid.*, 55.
 38. 12 August 1786, *ibid.*, p. 96; Jay to Washington 16 March 1786, John P. Johnston, ed., *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1890–1893), III, 186.
 39. *PJM*, IX, 96 and 3 September 1786, *ibid.*, 114.
 40. Higginson to John Adams, July 1786, "Letters of Stephen Higginson," *American Historical Association Report*, I, 1896, 735. Letters bearing the same message were sent to Samuel Osgood, 15 June and 22 July 1786, Samuel Osgood Papers, MSS, 1775–1812, NYHS. See King to Jonathan Jackson 11 June 1786, "Letters to Rufus King," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLIX, 1916, 86, and Sedgwick to Caleb Strong 6 August 1786, Burnett, *LMCC*, VIII, 415.
 41. Otto to Vergennes, 13 August and 10 October 1786, George Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1882), II, 378 and 400; James Monroe to the President of New Hampshire, 16 August 1786, Burnett, *LMCC*, VIII, 430; James Read to George Read, 3 September 1786, Read, *Life of Read*, 419–20; "Commissioner to the Commercial Convention to President Franklin, 1786," 19 September 1786, *Pennsylvania Archives*, First series, II, 60; Monroe to Madison, 3 September 1786, *PJM*, IX, 114; Rufus King to Jonathan Jackson, 3 September 1786, "Letters of King," XLIX, 1916, 89; and Alfred B. Street *The Council of Revision of the State of New York* (Albany: Gould, 1859) 183.
 42. A detailed account of the delegation arrivals is recorded in the "Letter to the Governour from the Massachusetts Commissioners appointed to attend the Convention at Annapolis on Commerce," 16 September 1786, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Archives Division, State House, Boston, Massachusetts, Senate Files, 1786, no. 416, and Street, *Council of Revision*, 184. The other Pennsylvania delegates awaited the arrival of the northern delegates and Benson and Hamilton did not depart until the last possible moment.
 43. Madison to Ambrose Madison, 8 September 1786, *PJM*, IX, 120; the *New Jersey Gazette* published portions of a letter from a New Jersey delegate to the effect that they were waiting for at least seven delegations or the cause was lost, 18 September 1786, citing a letter of 9 September. Hamilton expressed reluctance at being away from his family, Hamilton to Elizabeth Hamilton, 8 September 1786, Harold C. Syrett and Jacob Cooke, eds., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), III, 684, hereafter cited as *PAH*.
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46. The full text is reproduced in Reardon, *Randolph*, 84. The Benson resolution deleted the Randolph Draft reference to the powers "coextensive with those now given by New Jersey." See Charles C. Tansill, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1927), 41; Madison's later sketch, "Origins of the Constitutional Convention," Hunt, *Madison*, II, 398-99; St. George Tucker to Monroe, [Sept.] 1786, Monroe Papers, "G. H. Letter X, 4 March 1789, Syrett, *Hamilton*, V, 288; and Madison to Wharton, August 1827, Hunt, *Madison*, IX, 290.
47. Madison to Noah Webster, 12 October 1804, Hunt, *Madison*, VII, 16.
48. *Ibid.*, and IX, 290. Benson remembered later that Hamilton was not a member of the formal committee. John C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic of the United States of America, As Traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and his Contemporaries* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860), III, 163; Street, *Council of Revision*, 184; and PAH, III, 426.
49. Hamilton, *History of the Republic*, III, 163, and Tucker to Monroe, [Sept.] 1786, Monroe Papers, "I can assure you not a little pains were taken to make it even of that consistency which it now appears to possess."
50. Tansill, *Documents*, 40-1.
51. *Ibid.*, 42-3.
52. 10 October 1786, Bancroft, *History of the Constitution*, II, 401.
53. JHDV, October session, 1786, 29-30, and the announcement was issued 11 December 1786; and Ford, *JCC*, XXXII, 73-4.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series One: Speeches, Debates and Interviews. Volume 3: 1855-63. Ed. by John W. Blassingame, et al. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986. Pp. xxxvi, 679. Appendix, notes, index. \$55.00.)

The years 1855 to 1863 constituted a crisis period in United States history and in the career of Frederick Douglass, an interrelationship described in convincing fashion in this volume. His mind then at its most incisive, his literary skills and oratorical powers then at their peak, Douglass made full use of these gifts in helping to create the climate that led to the sectional clash at arms and then in using them to champion the North. It was in this period that his reformist spirit may best be sampled, as in his unsparing denunciation of "the slaveholding wing of the Supreme Court" for its ruling in the Dred Scott case, calling it "this devilish decision—this judicial incarnation of wolfishness!" It was in this period that the Douglass powers of exhortation came into their fullest exercise, as he besought the Lincoln administration, and whites and blacks throughout the North, to strike hard against the South, thereby determining "the character, growth and destiny of this American Republic, which but for slavery, would be the best governed country in the world."

The reader of this volume of the Douglass speeches might bear in mind that in their concentration on the impending crisis and the coming of the war they do not reflect his broad humanity, his wide range of reformist concerns—qualities that would come more to the fore during the less hectic decades. Out-reaching in his sympathies, Douglass had a sense of concern that crossed the barriers of race, color, origins or nationality. Wherever located, the exploited and oppressed evoked his sympathy and support, and in his own country he championed reforms not related exclusively to race or color, the rights of women, for example. Throughout his long public career no man, it can safely be said, was a more zealous and faithful woman's righter. Yet in this volume the major reference to this reform movement was a newspaper notice of his impromptu remarks at the National Woman's Rights Convention held in New York City in May 1858.

The Douglass speeches of this crisis period were typical as to portraying his never-flagging efforts to improve the quality of black life. As the prospects of the Negroes grew brighter with the coming of the war, Douglass besought the group to be prepared to take advantage of whatever new opportunities that might open up to them. This volume's opening document bears the title, "Advice to Black Youth: An Address Delivered in New York, New York, on 1 February 1855," a New York *Daily Times* report of a Douglass speech to the Young Men's Literary and Productive Society. Douglass told the group that the colored people "had a special mission to perform in the United States," and he "advised the Society to keep up their good work—to learn, to improve—that they might prove themselves as good as the best." As this volume indicates, in this period Douglass continued to press for the establishment of an "industrial college" for blacks, having previously set forth his reasons for supporting vocational education in a widely quoted 1853 editorial, "Learn Trades or Starve!" Pride of race comes out in these addresses. Speaking in Halifax, England, in January 1860, on the topic, "The Trials and Triumphs of Self-Made Men," Douglass dwelt upon Benjamin Banneker, his opening sentence setting the stage: "The United States has produced no self-made man more worthy of mention than Benjamin Banneker, the black astronomer of the State of Maryland." Not confining himself to praises of blacks, Douglass could also sound a scolding note. At a black-sponsored meeting in New York City in May 1855 "several" colored girls entered the hall during the middle of a Douglass address, prompting him to admonish them on the spot: "You must be punctual."

Upon the outbreak of the war and at the request of black groups, Douglass took engagements "to speak upon the lessons and events of the hour." During the spring and summer of 1861 he gave four or more such speeches at the Spring Street A.M.E. Church in Rochester, New York, its congregation having invited him to work with them in planning the series of lectures. Douglass found it particularly compatible to work with black church groups at such a time because he construed the Civil War as a holy crusade against human bondage. The fundamental theme of the Douglass theology was liberation, in-

cluding liberation of the body—the sundering of the chains of servitude and slavery. To this end the speeches and writings of Douglass during this period abound in references to the Bible, the index of this volume listing 161 entries under the heading, “Biblical quotations and allusions.”

The Douglass speeches of this period likewise reflect a heightened sense of patriotic identity with the land of his birth. The coming of the Civil War led Douglass to feel that the United States was now ready to live up to the great affirmations of the Declaration of Independence, a document he revered. As he said in a Fourth of July address in 1862, “There are principles in the Declaration that would release every slave in the world and prepare the earth for a millenium of righteousness and peace.” Douglass admired Washington and Jefferson, slaveholders, for their roles as Founding Fathers—although, as he perceptively put it (in a speech on William Jay in May 1859), “Their anti-slavery declarations are less potent for good than their pro-slavery examples have been for evil.” While Douglass could be unsparingly critical of the United States, his favorable observations about it sometimes bore a note of admiration bordering on spread-eagleism.

The Douglass speeches in this volume were written in advance, unlike most of his earlier ones in which he relied upon memory or trusted to the inspiration of the moment. Nothing if not thorough, Douglass read widely, making use of reliable sources and accurately reflecting their viewpoints in his references to them. Douglass was equally painstaking in putting his thoughts on paper. Often he would write a passage over and over, striving for the precise word, the moving phrase. To follow a Douglass line of thought is no chore, although in reading an address of his one must be prepared for the long sentences and paragraphs typical of nineteenth century literary expression. In whatever vein he wrote, however, whether it be humor, irony, invective, exposition or exhortation, Douglass invested his sentences with an almost poetic cadence, impelling the reader to turn the page.

As in the case of its two predecessors, this volume achieves its maximum significance because of the exceptional calibre of its editorial work in setting the stage with a firm and steady hand, and in introducing and identifying the dramatis personae. In addition to analyzing the attitude and behavior of Douglass, the editors identify or explain the referents in

his speeches. For example, the title of an address by Douglass, “Revolutions Never Go Backward,” bears this explanatory note: “This expression originated in William H. Seward’s ‘Irrepressible Conflict’ speech delivered in Rochester, New York, on 25 October 1858.” Having unearthed over 500 Douglass speeches delivered during this period, the editors persuasively explain their reasons for selecting the forty-five (“approximately nine percent”) which appear in this volume. The annotation in this work is exhaustive, the detailed and closely packed index running to fifty pages. In fine, this is a study in editorial excellence in tracking down the sources, however fugitive and obscure, and then in shedding the fullest light upon them.

These Douglass addresses are well worthy of such meticulous attention. They enable us to understand something of his significance, the long shadow he would cast. Just as his career in public life revolved around the pivotal issues of his times, so do his speeches constitute a major contribution to the social history of the nineteenth-century United States, particularly in its significant reformist phases.

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Newspapers of Maryland's Eastern Shore. By Dickson J. Preston (Queenstown, Md. and Centreville, Md.: published jointly by The Queen Anne Press and Tidewater Publishers, 1986. Pp. 272. \$35.00.)

This posthumously published work marks the end of Dickson Preston’s long and distinguished career as a researcher and expositor of Eastern Shore History. It is fitting that his last book should concern newspaper publishing, since Preston spent much of his life working as a newspaper reporter and editor. *Newspapers of the Eastern Shore* maintains Preston’s reputation for sound scholarship. Included in the book is a directory of every known issue of every Eastern Shore newspaper plus the name of the library or other repository where that particular issue can be found. This excellent directory makes the book an essential research tool for anyone with a serious interest in the nineteenth or twentieth century history of the Eastern Shore region. In addition, though, Preston has also given us a very enjoyable popular history of the Eastern Shore newspaper industry that is full of good anecdotal material on the newspapers and newspapermen of bygone days.

Newspapers of the Eastern Shore deserves to have a wide readership, although at the price of \$35.00 a copy many people may hesitate to buy this book for their own personal libraries.

Preston takes the story of newspaper publishing on the Eastern Shore of Maryland from its earliest beginnings right up into the 1980's. The book contains two long chapters on the newspapers of the early nineteenth century and of the Civil War era that are particularly good. This was a time of considerable social and political turmoil on the Eastern Shore, and nearly every county seat in the region contained a least one highly partisan weekly newspaper that vigorously debated the leading issues of the day. Preston points out that the editors of the county weeklies looked upon their newspapers less as business enterprises that were expected to turn a profit than as public platforms from which to advance a particular political viewpoint. This meant that the papers printed a great deal of commentary but very little of what today would be called hard news. Nevertheless, the county weeklies do provide an invaluable perspective on Eastern Shore attitudes during the critical ante-bellum and Civil War years.

Preston aptly labels the half century that follows the Civil War as the "Long Siesta" of the Eastern Shore newspaper industry. With the emotional issues of slavery and secession gone from the scene, the Eastern Shore county weeklies lost much of their interest in national affairs and concentrated more on matters of purely local concern. The last two chapters of the book deal with the Eastern Shore newspapers in the twentieth century, and especially with the establishment of widely circulating daily newspapers in the area. Probably the most interesting topic that is covered in this part of the book is the gradual change that took place in the attitude of the Eastern Shore press on the issue of civil rights. In 1931 and 1933, when two black men were lynched on the lower shore, the Eastern Shore papers did not condemn these acts of premeditated murder but instead chose to rave about imaginary communist conspiracies and outside agitators who were inciting local blacks to commit acts of violence. During the Cambridge race riots of the 1960's, however, Eastern Shore papers decried black militancy but at the same time recognized that the local black community had legitimate cause for complaint. The lower shore dailies in particular played a positive role in restoring racial peace within the region by recognizing that racial desegregation was inevitable.

Newspapers of the Eastern Shore ranks as one of Dickson Preston's best books, and it is certain to become an Eastern Shore classic. Sadly, there will be no more such books from this uniquely gifted man.

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Voyages Into Airy Regions. By John F. R. Scott, Jr. (Annapolis: Fishergate Publishing Company, for the Ann Arrundell County Historical Society, 1984. pp. viii + 119; illustrations. No Price.)

There is little doubt that the State of Maryland has a rich aeronautical heritage. For several decades, it was the home of two major aircraft manufacturers: the Glenn L. Martin Company, named after its founder, and the Fairchild Company, the result of several mergers by Sherman Fairchild that included the Krieder-Reisner firm in Hagerstown. These companies produced a wide variety of aircraft: Martin seaplanes and bombers; Fairchild trainers and transports. Among significant designs developed by these manufacturers, some have become aeronautical classics. The big Martin seaplanes, "China Clippers," were used by Pan Am to launch its ambitious routes across the Pacific in the 1930's. During World War II, Fairchild turned out thousands of sporty-looking PT-19 trainers in which thousands more neophyte pilots won combat wings.

College Park was the setting for many pioneering events. Prior to World War I, the Wright brothers trained several aeronautical leaders there, including "Hap" Arnold, who brilliantly commanded the Army Air Forces during the Second World War. Between 1910 and 1914, College Park was the scene of early experiments in aerial gunnery, bombing, and photography, and it was one of three airports used to start scheduled airmail service in 1918. Emile and Henry Berliner tested their helicopter designs there in the 1920's.

The author of *Voyages* is an experienced pilot and has served Maryland aviation as administrator at both city and state levels. Although the book includes colorful material on a fascinating topic, it is incomplete and occasionally misleading as a historical source. For instance, the book begins with a series of "Firsts," but it is not clear if these events were first for Maryland or first for aviation in general. It should be clarified that Baltimore was

the origin of "regularly scheduled trans-Atlantic flights" by an *airplane* in 1939 since Germany had been scheduling Atlantic flights in its giant dirigibles since 1936. Editors have caught some misleading statements in an *Errata* sheet, but there are other ambiguous claims. For instance, the Berliner helicopter work was interesting, but probably not nearly as significant as the author suggests.

The analysis of the early years of Martin and Fairchild is fairly detailed. Why so little on post-war events? Major aerospace mergers—Martin with Marietta, and Fairchild with Republic—are ignored. The result is an unbalanced and misleading picture of these historic firms. In a book that is geared to illustrations, why is there no photo of the Fairchild PT-19 trainer, so significant to air force training and to wartime employment in Maryland? Further, some important Fairchild products, like the C-82 and C-119 transports, are not even mentioned.

The foreword includes an apology for omitting the Goddard Space Flight Center, aerospace giants like Westinghouse, and military bases like the Patuxent Naval Air Station, where so much advanced flight testing is conducted. True, as the foreword states, *Voyages* was not intended to be definitive (which is spelled "definite" in the text). But repeated inconsistency of coverage and surprising omissions seriously detract from the value of this book.

All this underscores the role of *Voyages* as a very tentative first step, since Maryland surely deserves a scholarly and balanced treatment of its aerospace history.

ROGER E. BILSTEIN

University of Houston-Clear Lake

Arthur Storer of Lincolnshire, England, and Calvert County, Maryland: Newton's Friend, Star Gazer, and Forgotten Man of Science in Seventeenth-Century Maryland. By Lou Rose and Michael Marti. (Published for the Calvert County Historical Society, 1984, pp. 184. \$15.00.)

Heralding the 1985–86 return of Halley's comet, and the 300th anniversary of the publication of Newton's *Principia Mathematica* in 1687, this book appears at a good time, and makes an important contribution to our historical understanding. Because of its focus on one fairly insignificant individual, it reminds us of the context which nurtured scientists of

the stature of Isaac Newton and Edmund Halley.

A year or two younger than Isaac Newton, Arthur Storer grew up in the town of Grantham in the county of Lincolnshire, six miles from Newton's birthplace at the village of Woolstroppe. The mothers of the two boys had been friends since childhood. Thus it is not surprising that when young Isaac was ready to attend King's School in Grantham, he lived with the Storer family. By this time both women were widows. Hannah Ayscough Newton had remarried a man her son despised. Katherine Babington Storer's new husband, however, proved a wonderful father for the boys. An apothecary by profession, Mr. Clarke taught the boys about the medicinal properties of plants. And he gave them free access to his fine library of books relating to "physic, botany, anatomy, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy and the like."

In 1661, when Newton went off to Trinity College, Cambridge, Arthur Storer remained at home to learn the apothecary business. In 1672 along with his sister Ann and her family, Storer emigrated to Maryland. He was back in England in 1678, and then returned to America. He died in Maryland in 1686. Most other details of his adult life remain unknown—except for his active interest in astronomy.

In 1678 Storer developed tables of various celestial motions (reprinted in the appendix of this book). Although not outstanding, they represent a knowledge of astronomy and mathematics far above the ordinary. Newton, to whom they were sent for approval, judged them to be "sufficiently exact."

On his return to America, Storer took several instruments for measuring celestial angles, and a "perspective glass" for seeing celestial bodies more clearly. These came in handy in 1680, when a particularly bright comet blazed into view. Storer observed it carefully, and he recognized it when it reappeared in 1681 after its passage behind the sun. In 1682 he observed the comet now known as Halley's, whose periodical nature Edmund Halley was the first to recognize. In both instances Storer sent his observations to Newton, who made respectful reference to them in the *Principia*.

The authors of this book have worked hard to discover all that's knowable about Arthur Storer, and to present it in an intelligent and engaging manner. They are to be commended for a job well done.

DEBORAH JEAN WARNER

National Museum of American History

The Constitution in the Supreme Court: The First Hundred Years, 1789–1888. By David P. Currie. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986. 504 pp. Indexed. \$55.00.)

In the introduction to this book, Professor Currie succinctly states his intention: "My aim is to provide a critical history, analyzing from a lawyer's standpoint the entire constitutional work of the Court's first hundred years. My search is for methods of constitutional analysis, for techniques of opinion writing, for the quality of the performances of the Court and of its members."

It is a formidable challenge to read every Supreme Court decision involving constitutional issues between 1789 and 1888. It is an impressive intellectual accomplishment to analyze the performance of every justice who wrote an opinion in those cases. To analyze critically over one hundred and forty cases with clarity and convincing logic while summarizing all the remaining constitutional decisions of the period in the notes is extraordinary. To do this in 452 pages of text, excluding appendices and indexes, is a minor miracle. Yet that is just what Professor Currie has done.

In order to accomplish this remarkable feat, Currie had to keep his focus narrow. Every justice who sat on the court between 1789 and 1888 is critiqued individually, but the judges are reduced to their opinions. Those opinions are analyzed in terms of legal craftsmanship rather than placed in the context of the history of their time. The political struggle between Jefferson and the Federalists that provides the background for *Marbury v. Madison* is buried in the notes. Currie does not even mention the financial shenanigans of the officers of the Second Bank of the United States in Baltimore that gave poignancy to the arguments of Maryland in *McCulloch v. Maryland* that the bank was a private institution. He is not interested in discussing in this book why decisions turned out the way that they did, or even what effect those decisions had upon society. His quest is for the technical competence of the opinions written to justify the decisions.

The standards Currie applies are simple. "Since the Constitution is law, the judges have no right to ignore constitutional limitations with which they disagree. . . . Beyond this, I share the conventional views that judges have an obligation to explain the reasons for their decisions as concisely and persuasively as practicable and that they should strive for consistency, reserving the right to correct

egregious and important errors on relatively rare occasions." Judged by these criteria, there are very few flawless constitutional opinions in the first century of the court's existence (or, for that matter, in its second century).

The book begins with the frequently overlooked decisions of the court before John Marshall became Chief Justice. That Court invalidated a state law, engaged in judicial review of federal legislation, established principles of construction of constitutional issues and fleshed out the jurisdictional framework of the federal court system. Currie uncovers the early pension cases cited by Marshall in *Marbury v. Madison*, including decisions never published by the Court, and examines their impact on the role of the Court.

After restoring the early work of the Court to its proper claim on our attention, Currie discusses the decisions of the Court under John Marshall. Those decisions have been extremely influential in shaping our nation. Marshall gave federal powers a generous construction, and the Court under Marshall acted vigorously in applying constitutional limits to the states. But while Currie gives Marshall's genius its due, he also takes Marshall to task for inconsistency, for ignoring opposing arguments, and for overreaching. On the crucial issues for decision, Marshall tended to be too conclusory to suit Professor Currie. "In short, though Marshall has been generally admired, it is difficult to find a single Marshall opinion that puts together the relevant legal arguments in a convincing way."

Taney lacked Marshall's statesmanship and wrote a disastrous opinion in *Dred Scott*. Nevertheless, Currie writes that Taney at his best was not only clear but also extremely persuasive. Taney's opinion in *The Genesee Chief*, extending the admiralty jurisdiction of the federal courts beyond tidewaters to the Great Lakes, earns Currie's praise as an impressive achievement. But Taney had formidable intellectual rivals on the court, notably Justices Story and Curtis. Currie praises Story for his dissent in *The Charles River Bridge Case*, although most modern critics are more likely to agree with the majority in limiting the impact of the contract clause on contracts made by the state. Justice Curtis gathers laurels from Currie for statesmanship in interpreting the commerce clause, but only his dissent in *Dred Scott* receives unconditional praise.

Justice Miller emerges as the star of the Supreme Court under both Chief Justices Chase and Waite. But praise for Miller's "exemplary

clarity and brevity" does not distract Currie from criticism of "a strong judge with unusually great abilities and little respect for the law."

Currie does not take issue with the substantive outcome of many of the court's decisions in the first hundred years. Even where he believes that an important decision distorted the Constitution, he states that most of the time the decision was fairly debatable. His fundamental critique is of craftsmanship and not of result. The criticism may be warranted, but it is surely only a partial view of the behavior of the Court.

Currie's list of great justices is short: Marshall, Story, Taney, Curtis and Miller. He also notes the shortcomings of even the chosen few, castigating the invalidation of the Missouri Compromise by Taney and others in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* as the worst decision ever written. Currie acknowledges that "from the smug advantage of a century or two of hindsight, it is easier to find fault than to write a good opinion; an attempt to rewrite *Marbury v. Madison* is sobering even today." He selects Curtis's dissent in *Dred Scott* as "the supreme monument of the lawyer's craft in the first century of constitutional adjudication." A closer look at that opinion, however, suggests that even Currie may not be critical enough. Curtis's conclusion that the citizenship of a free black depends on the status given free blacks by the state of the individual's birth, regardless of where the individual resides or where he achieved freedom is not thoroughly explained in the opinion. It produces weird anomalies—the free black residing in a state that regards free blacks as citizens would still not be a citizen of the United States or of that state if the state of his birth did not consider free blacks to be citizens. A national citizenship based on birth and free status would seem to be a more plausible decision.

The book is adapted from a series of articles in law reviews. It follows law review format with footnotes at the bottom of each page. Thus, some pages have only a few lines of text while the rest of the page is footnotes. The format, however, is wise. It enables the reader to follow the details of arguments in each case and later doctrinal developments without having to flip back and forth from one part of the book to another.

In general, Currie gives a precise and accurate rendition of the decisions of the court. However, there is at least one notable bloop. He castigates Chief Justice Chase for dissenting in *Bradwell v. Illinois*, noting that it

was impossible to see why Chase had dissented because Chase "had agreed with Slaughterhouses narrow interpretation of the only clause relied on." In fact, Justice Field, expounding a broad interpretation of the privileges and immunities clause, stated in *The Slaughterhouse Cases* that Chief Justice Chase concurred with his dissent.

Such lapses by Currie are rare. This book discusses virtually every constitutional decision of the Supreme Court in its first century, giving a technical critique of all of the important cases. The writing is clear. Given the scope of the project, it is a model of brevity. Judged by his own criteria of explaining the reasoning of decisions as concisely and persuasively as practicable, Currie has done a superb job.

DAVID S. BOGEN

University of Maryland School of Law

Claude A. Swanson of Virginia: A Political Biography By Henry C. Ferrell Jr. (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1986. 294 pp. \$28.00.)

Among the three men most revered and celebrated in the pantheon of oldtime Virginia politics, conventional wisdom has ranked the name of Claude Augustus Swanson below those of Harry Flood Byrd and Thomas Staples Martin. All three were long-lived United States senators. Each won some measure of national, even international, fame. In Virginia, Martin is remembered as the (1890s) inventor, and Byrd as the (1920s) perfecter, of the conservative Democratic Party organization that dominated the state's political life for the first sixty-five years of the twentieth century. Swanson, meanwhile, has been generally perceived as a sort of talented second banana to Martin.

Now comes this new, exceedingly thorough, definitive study of the four-tiered Swanson career—he was congressman thirteen years, governor four years, senator twenty-three years and Secretary of the Navy six—that challenges and may very well upset the conventional concept.

In the first booklength Swanson biography to be published, Dr. Henry C. Ferrell Jr., professor of history at East Carolina University, has painstakingly amassed impressive evidence to support his main finding: That Swanson deserves accreditation as a political chieftan at least equal—and perhaps superior

to the pair of recognized bosses. The Swanson who emerges from these pages was an ingenious, charismatic political maestro who—though himself relatively liberal and semi-independent—enabled both Martin, twenty years his senior, and Byrd, twenty-five years his junior, to achieve and maintain their status as major boss-figures in the conservative state Democratic organization.

To sketch just the barebones of Swanson's long public career is to suggest a remarkable politician: Born in 1862, a country boy from Southside Virginia's tobacco belt, he went to Congress at age thirty, and won the first state Democratic primary for governor in 1905. Six months after his gubernatorial term ended, he moved to the United States Senate. There he performed with great political virtuosity until he agreed, somewhat reluctantly, to forsake the Virginia campaign battlements and become Franklin Roosevelt's first Secretary of the Navy.

Dr. Ferrell fleshes out the Swanson image with careful documentation and abundant detail—sometimes, indeed, with much too much detail. His book is not for the casual reader, but will be welcomed by serious students of the Old Dominion's sometimes mystifying political relationships. Dr. Ferrell, for instance, reckons that Swanson probably saved Martin from defeat for Senate re-election at least twice. He shows that Swanson often out-thought and outmaneuvered both "the boss" and Swanson's rivals for political preference. He asserts that after Martin's death in 1919, Swanson's decisions and actions "renewed the Democratic organization to strengthen his senatorship" and also "created the foundation of a political apparatus that would dominate the state for the next generation."

That apparatus, of course, achieved enduring prestige under the command of Harry Byrd, to whom Swanson—though wary and suspicious of a rising rival—gave a helping hand in Byrd's pre-boss days of the 1920s. Their relationship was more pragmatic than affectionate. At the 1928 Democratic National Convention in Houston, where Swanson was Virginia delegation chairman, he aroused Governor Byrd's anger by seizing the Virginia placard and joining the Al Smith demonstration *mêlée*.

(At Houston, too, Dr. Ferrell suggests cryptically there was another *mêlée*. He notes that Virginia's peppery Senator Carter Glass and Maryland's urbane Senator Millard Tydings "swapped blows" on the convention floor—but gives no detail. One wonders: What in the

world would induce these two crusty conservatives to start swinging and punching at each other? For once, the reader may wish the author had *not* spared the details.)

The Swanson story, of course, transcends the provincialities of Virginia politics, and Dr. Ferrell does not neglect Swanson's performance on the national and international scenes. In his day and in his way, Swanson appears to have been less parochial and probably more influential in Washington than either Byrd or Martin in theirs. A strong Navy man, in his early Senate days he became friend, supporter and eventually the "mainstay of Woodrow Wilson" in many Senate maneuverings. As Naval Affairs Committee chairman, he worked closely with a young assistant secretary named Franklin Roosevelt. Vice President Thomas Marshall paid a wry tribute to his political and parliamentary acumen: "Claude Swanson," he said, "can get more things done and secure more offices (patronage) than any man I ever knew." Another Senate colleague wisecracked admiringly that Swanson was the only man he ever knew who kept both ears to the ground at the same time. In later years, President Herbert Hoover relied on Swanson as a principal member of the American delegation to the General Disarmament Conference at Geneva. In 1932, Senator Key Pittman assured Franklin Roosevelt that Swanson was "the shrewdest politician and diplomat in the United States Senate."

Such assessments, and the President-elect's actions, suggest FDR would have preferred to keep Swanson's friendly vote in the Senate. Only after Carter Glass rejected the Treasury cabinet post did Roosevelt ask Swanson to become Secretary of the Navy.

(Ferrell doesn't say so, but Virginia political folklore has long suggested that, in the pre-nomination maneuverings at the 1932 Democratic National Convention, Louis Howe promised Byrd that a President Roosevelt would open up a Virginia seat—which Byrd wanted in return for his support of FDR—by putting either Glass or Swanson in his cabinet.)

Swanson mulled it over for two weeks, then accepted. He was nearly 71 years old, physically ailing, and aware that Byrd was threatening to run against him in 1934. In spite of his deteriorating health, he labored effectively to build up the Navy until he suffered a fatal stroke in mid-summer 1939, just before World War II exploded. Thus, as Douglas Southall Freeman wrote in the *Richmond News Leader*, "a son of war and reconstruction lived

to the eve of new destruction." Another editor called him simply "a faithful and useful public man." Dr. Ferrell adds his own estimates:

"To other colleagues he left the blowing of legislative trumpets; he orchestrated legislative accomplishments . . . He dealt in the hardheaded world of the possible, of compromise, and of skillful parliamentary maneuvers . . . [He was also] an exceedingly wise executive encompassed in the personality of a professional politician. He did *not* nourish grudges; he sought friends and solutions."

If this biography leaves the reader still somewhat distant from the Swanson person-

ality, with its reputed warmth and charm, a reason is cited in the author's postscript. He could find few Swanson papers, personal or official. It appears Swanson deliberately destroyed virtually all his papers when he went to the cabinet—or else they were damaged irreparably by leaking water in a Washington warehouse. Also, the paucity may have been due to the fact that, like other oldtimes pols, Swanson preferred to "communicate in person or by phone."

JAMES LATIMER
Richmond, Virginia

Marriages Recorded in Talbot County Newspapers 1819-1823, 1841-1843, & 1870

CHARLES MONTGOMERY HADDAWAY, III

INTRODUCTION

CONTAINED HEREIN ARE COPIED NOTICES of marriage from newspapers published in Talbot County, Eastern Shore of Maryland. Immediately following each record there will be found certain initials and numbers. The initials identify, per the following code, the newspaper. The numbers signify the date of notice publication. This date is always given in the sequence: month-day-year.

EG	<i>Easton Gazette</i> , Easton, Md.
EG&ESI	<i>Easton Gazette</i> , and <i>Eastern Shore Intelligencer</i> , Easton, Md.
ES	<i>Easton Star</i> , Easton, Md.
ESS	<i>Eastern Shore Star</i> , Easton, Md.
H&ESI	<i>Maryland Herald and Eastern Shore Intelligencer</i> , Easton, Md.
RSOESGA	<i>Republican Star or Eastern Shore General Advertiser</i> , Easton, Md.
TEG	<i>The Easton Gazette</i> , Easton, Md.

TES

The Easton Star, Easton, Md.

TPM

The People's Monitor, St. Michaels, Md.

Due to the numerous entries such as: "on Tuesday last," a perpetual calendar should be consulted so the precise date of the marriage can be ascertained. Perpetual calendars are frequently published in the telephone directory, and may be found in other sources.

Two abbreviations used in the notices are familiar to the genealogist. The first and most frequently used abbreviation is "inst."; the other abbreviation is "ult." Instant (inst.) is a word used with dates to indicate the current month; ultimo (ult.) means in the month preceding the present.

Anything enclosed within brackets is not a part of the original notice of marriage but has been added by the compiler of these records as a help to others in further identifying the persons involved in the marriage.

Every effort has been made to avoid errors but letters of correction are invited.

MARRIAGES REPORTED

1. ABBOTT, JAMES W.—RUTH, ANN N. On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. James W. Abbott to the amiable Miss Ann N. Ruth, both of this county. EG&ESI 06-10-1820

2. ADAMS, JOHN C.—BRYAN, EMILY E. At Bohema Village, Cecil county, Md., on the 13 inst., by the Rev. William W. Folks, John C. Adams, of

Talbot county, Md., to Emily E., daughter of Joseph Bryan, Esq. ESS 02-28-1843

3. ADAMS, JOHN H.—COTTMAN, ARAMINTA MATILDA. On Thursday the 11th inst. in the Episcopal church in Princess Anne, by the Reverend Mr. Wickes, Mr. John H. Adams to Miss Araminta Matilda Cottman, all of that place. EG&ESI 10-20-1821

4. ALBERT, JOSEPH S.—BOTFIELD, ELIZABETH. On the 16th inst., by the Rev. Dr. Roberts, Mr. Joseph S. Albert, of Harford county, to Miss Elizabeth Botfield, of Talbot county. ESS 06-28-1842

Charles Montgomery Haddaway III works for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in Louisville, KY. He is the author of two books and numerous articles on Eastern Shore genealogy.

5. ALLEN, BENNET—ADAMS, MARGARET. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. Bennet Allen to Miss Margaret Adams. ESS 12-28-1841

6. ALLEN, JOHN H.—LLOYD, SARAH J. At Trappe M.P. Church, on Tuesday, 19th inst., by Rev. D. Evans Reese, John H. Allen and Sarah J. Lloyd, both of this county. TEG 01-23-1869

7. ANDERSON, JAMES P.—HOPKINS, SUSAN ANN. In this county on Tuesday 30th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. James P. Anderson, to Miss Susan Ann Hopkins, all of this county. EG 10-04-1823

8. ANDERSON, JOHN H.—CLARK, ELIZABETH. On the 22d, by Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. John H. Anderson to Miss Elizabeth Clark. ESS 01-25-1842

9. ANDERSON, WRIGHT—ATWELL, MARGARET. At Friends Meeting in Kings Creek, on Wednesday last, Wright Anderson of Caroline County, to Margaret Atwell of this County. EG&ESI 05-20-1820

10. ANDREWS, WILLIAM J.—SOLLOWAY, ELIZABETH. On the 2d inst., by Rev. Mr. Allen, Wm. J. Andrews of Talbot to Elizabeth Solloway of Queen Annes. ES 01-09-1844

11. APPELGARTH, WILLIAM H.—PHIPPS, MATILDA. On Thursday evening 19th inst. by the Rev. Stevens Woolford, William H. Applegarth, Esq. to Miss Matilda Phipps, all of Dorchester county. EG 12-28-1822

12. AULD, THOMAS—ANTHONY, LUCRETIA P. In this town on Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Capt. Thomas Auld to Miss Lucretia P. Anthony, all of this county. EG 01-18-1823

13. AUSTIN, WILLIAM K.—TROTH, MARY. At Friends' Meeting, on Thursday last, William K. Austin, to Mary Troth, daughter of the late Samuel Troth all of this county. RSOESGA 05-28-1816

14. BAKER, WILLIAM—CAULK, MRS. SARAH. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. William Baker to Mrs. Sarah Clark, all of this county. EG 12-22-1827

15. BALDERSTON, JACOB—DAWSON, RUTH ANN. At Friends Meeting on the 13th inst. Jacob Balderston of Baltimore, to Ruth Ann Dawson, daughter of Thomas H. and Edith Dawson, of this town. EG 05-17-1834

16. BALDERSTON, JONATHAN—YARNELL, ELIZABETH. On Thursday last, at Friends' Meeting, Jonathan Balderston, of Baltimore, to Elizabeth Yarnell, of this town. RSOESGA 04-26-1808

17. BALDWIN, WILLIAM P.—WILLIAMS, CAROLINE. In Baltimore, on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Gest, Mr. William P. Baldwin, of Easton, Talbot County, to Miss Caroline Williams, of New-Castle county, Delaware. EG&ESI 12-28-1818

18. BALL, ROBERT E.—HADDAWAY, FANNIE M. At Chatham's Chapel, on the 9th inst., by Rev. W. B. Walton, Robert E. Ball and Fannie M. Haddaway. TES 01-14-1873

19. BALLARD, EDWARD—BEAUCHAMP, HANNAH. In Somerset county, on Wednesday the 17th inst. by the Rev. John B. Slemons, Mr. Edward Ballard, to Miss Hannah Beauchamp. EG 09-27-1823

20. BANNING, ALEXANDER—BIRCKHEAD, MARIA S. On Thursday last, at 'Moorland' the seat of P. E. Birkhead, Esq., by the Rev. Dr. Spencer, Alexander Banning, to Miss Maria S. Birkhead, both of this county. ESS 11-15-1842

21. BANNING, ROBERT—MAKIN, ELIZA E. On Tuesday last by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, Robert Banning, Esq. to Miss Eliza E. Makin, both of this county. EG&ESI 01-06-1821

22. BARKER, BENJAMIN F.—HUGHES, MARY JANE. At the Bayside Meeting-house on Wednesday the 29th of March, by the Rev. Pere Marshall, Benjamin F. Barker to Miss Mary Jane Hughes, all of the Bayside. ESS 04-11-1843

23. BARNS, SAMUEL—MATTHEWS, MRS. ELEANOR. On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Mr. Samuel Barns, to Mrs. Eleanor Matthews, both of this county. ES 05-05-1844

24. BARROLL, WILLIAM H.—JOHNSON, REBECCA. On the 24th ult. by Rev. Mr. Henshaw, William H. Barroll, Esq. of Chestertown, to Rebecca, eldest daughter of Edward Johnson, Esq. Mayor elect of Baltimore. EG 11-02-1822

25. BARROW, CHARLES D.—HARRISON, L. On Tuesday last, Mr. Charles D. Barrow, of this county, to Miss L. Harrison, of Kent Island, Q.A. county. RSOESGA 02-25-1812

26. BARTLETT, JAMES—CAULK, SARAH A. On the 1st of February, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. James Bartlett to Miss Sarah A. Caulk, both of this county. ES 02-06-1844

27. BARTLETT, JOSEPH—KEMP, SUSAN. In this county on the 19th instant, at the house of Sarah Kemp, by Friends ceremony, Joseph Bartlett, of Baltimore, to Susan, daughter of Sarah Kemp. ES 12-26-1843

28. BARTOL, JAMES L.—CHERBONIER, CAROLINE MARY. On the 3d inst. by the Rev. Mr. Elder, James L. Bartol, Esq. of Caroline county, Md., to Caroline Mary, daughter of M. Pierre Cherbonier, of Baltimore. ESS 06-08-1841

29. BARWICK, JAMES H.—HOLT, ALICE H. On Monday evening last, at the residence of Mr. Charles Holt in Talbot county, by the Rev. James Nicols, Mr. James H. Barwick, of Caroline county, to Miss Alice H. Holt, of Talbot county. ESS 10-12-1841

30. BARWICK, PETER—HARRISON, MRS. ANN. On Tuesday the 6th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Drain, Capt. Peter Barwick to Mrs. Ann Harrison, all of this county. EG 06-17-1837

31. *BATEMAN, HENRY E.—HOPKINS, ARIANA*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Henry E. Bateman, Esq. of Easton, to Ariana, daughter of Mr. Jas. M. Hopkins, of Bayside. ES 01-16-1844

32. *BATTIE, JOHN W., JR.—BRINSFIELD, MARY A.* On the 17th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. John W. Battie, jr., to Miss Mary A. Brinsfield. ESS 02-22-1842

33. *BATTY, JOHN W.—WOOLF, ELIZABETH*. On the 9th inst.; by the Rev. Mr. Kemp, Mr. John W. Batty, of Talbot county, to Miss Elizabeth Woolf, of Dorchester. ES 11-14-1843

34. *BAYLEY, GARDNER—COWARD, ELIZABETH*. On Tuesday the 5th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, at the mansion of Nicholas Goldsborough, Esq., Mr. Gardner Bayley to Miss Elizabeth Coward, all of this county. EG 11-09-1822

35. *BAYNARD, ROBERT J. H.—WATSON, ANN*. In Baltimore on Monday morning the 2d inst., at 6 o'clock, by the Rev. Thomas A. Collins, Pastor of Wesley's Chapel M.E. Church, Balt., Mr. Robert J. H. Baynard of Caroline county, to Miss Ann Watson of Queen Anne's county. ES 10-10-1843

36. *BAYNE, THOMAS—WAGGAMAN, MRS. ELIZA*. In Cambridge, Dorchester county, on the 17th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bailey, Rev'd Thomas Bayne, of this county, to Mrs. Eliza Waggaman. ESS 05-24-1842

37. *BECK, EDWARD—HARRISON, CHARLOTTE ANN*. On Tuesday, 26th of January, by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Mr. Edward Beck, to Miss Charlotte Ann Harrison, of Queen Ann's county. EG 02-28-1824

38. *BECKLEY, WILLIAM—TOMLINSON, SUSAN*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Clark, Mr. William Beckley, to Miss Susan Tomlinson all of this county. EG 05-18-1822

39. *BECKLEY, WILLIAM—LOWE, MARY E.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Beckley, to Miss Mary E., eldest daughter of Solomon Lowe, Esq. all of this town. EG 07-17-1824

40. *BELL, THOMAS E.—BAGGS, ANNIE M.* At the residence of the bride's mother, near St. Michaels, on the 7th inst., by Rev. John Hough, Rev. Thos. E. Bell, member of the Wilmington Conference, and Miss Annie M. Baggs, all of this county. TES 07-12-1870

41. *BENDING, WILLIAM—NEWNAM, REBECCA*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Wm. Bending to Miss Rebecca Newnam, all of this county. EG 07-19-1828

42. *BENNETT, ANTHONY B.—DERICKSON, MARIA LOUISA*. At Laurel, Del. on Wednesday, the 16th of June, by the Rev. John B. Slemmons, Mr. Anthony B. Bennett, of Somerset county, Md., to Miss Maria Louisa, daughter of Dr. James Derickson, of that place. EG&ESI 06-28-1819

43. *BENSON, CHARLES—HARRISON, ELIZABETH*. At St. Michael's on the 12th inst., by Rev. E. R. Williams, Charles Benson to Elizabeth Harrison; all of this county. ESS 02-28-1843

44. *BENSON, JAMES—HARRISON, ELIZABETH A[NN]*. On Tuesday the 30th of Nov. by the Rev. J. Bell, Mr. James Benson, of St. Michaels, to Miss Elizabeth A[nn] Harrison, of the same place. EG 12-11-1841

45. *BENSON, NICHOLAS—EDGAR, CHARLOTTE*. On Saturday the 11th inst. by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Nicholas Benson to Miss Charlotte Edgar, all of this county. EG 10-18-1823

46. *BENSON, PERRY—KEMP, ELIZA H.* On Tuesday the 14th inst., by the Rev. Solomon Higgins, Mr. Perry Benson to Miss Eliza H. Kemp, all of this county. EG 10-18-1823

47. *BERRIDGE, JAMES H.—SMYTH, ELIZABETH*. On the 4th inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, James H. Berridge to Elizabeth Smyth, all of this county. ES 01-09-1844

48. *BERRIDGE, WILLIAM, JR.—MARTIN, MARY*. On Sunday evening last, in this town. Mr. William Berridge, jun. to Miss Mary Martin. RSOESGA 12-30-1806

49. *BERRY, GEORGE W.—LLOYD, SARAH JANE*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, George W. Berry to Sarah Jane Lloyd, both of this county. ES 09-05-1843

50. *BESSEX, BRADBERRY—COLLINS, MRS. SARAH*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Bradberry Bessex, to Mrs. Sarah Collins, all of this county. EG 08-02-1823

51. *BEWLEY, LEMUEL—GOULD, MARGARET*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Crouch, Mr. Lemuel Bewley, to Miss Margaret Gould, both of Queen Ann's county. EG&ESI 03-01-1819

52. *BIDDLE, STEPHEN—COOK, MARIA*. On Tuesday evening, 18th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Seward, Stephen Biddle, Esq., to Miss Maria Cook, all of Dorchester county. EG&ESI 02-07-1820

53. *BLADES, GARRISON—LANE, REBECCA*. On the 20th ultimo, by Rev. D. Evans Reese, D.D., Garrison Blades to Rebecca Lane, both of this county. TES 02-01-1870

54. *BLADES, SAMUEL—BLADES, ELIZABETH*. On Thursday 26th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Samuel Blades to Elizabeth Blades, both of this county. ESS 09-07-1841

55. *BLAKE, P[EREGRINE] F. T.—HEATHERS, FRANCES [A.]*. In Centreville on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Rawleigh, Mr. P[eregrine] F. T. Blake, Merchant, to Miss Frances [A.] Heathers, both of Queen Ann's county ESS 12-14-1841

56. *BLAKE, THEODORE R.—DAVIS, CHARLOTTE*. In this county, on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Theodore R. Blake to Charlotte Davis. ESS 07-27-1841

57. *BLAKE, WILLIAM—HARDEN, MRS. ELIZABETH*. Thursday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Blake to Mrs. Elizabeth Harden, all of this county. EG&ESI 11-10-1821

58. *BLAKE, WILLIAM HOPPER—SETH, MRS. MARY*. On Tuesday the 16th inst. on Kent Island, Queen Ann's county, by the Rev. William Bishop, Mr. William Hopper Blake, to the amiable and very agreeable Mrs. Mary Seth. RSOESGA 05-23-1809

59. *BORDLEY, WILLIAM WESLEY—COX, CHARLOTTE*. In Baltimore on Wednesday morning last, by the Rev. W. H. Bordley, Dr. William Wesley Bordley, of Centreville, to Miss Charlotte, daughter of the Rev. Luther J. Cox, of that city. ESS 05-16-1843

60. *BOUSHELL, JOHN S.—NEWNAM, FANNIE E.* In Baltimore, on the 13th inst., by Rev. Mr. Slicer, John S. Boushell, of Norfolk, Va., to Miss Fannie E. Newnam, of Baltimore. TEG 08-29-1868

61. *BOYER, STEPHEN—SIMMONS, MARIA*. Married, on Tuesday evening the 18th inst. by the Rev. William H. Wilmer, Mr. Stephen Boyer to Miss Maria Simmons, all of Kent county. TPM 04-29-1809

62. *BRATTEN, SAMUEL—MISTER, MARY*. On the 29th ult., by the Rev. J. T. Hazard, Samuel Bratten of Somerset county, to Mary Mister of Dorchester. ESS 04-11-1843

63. *BRINSFIELD, GEORGE—DRAPER, ELIZABETH*. On Thursday the 20th by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. George Brinsfield to Miss Elizabeth Draper, all of this county. ESS 01-25-1842

64. *BRINSFIELD, JAMES—DAWSON, MARY W.* In this county, on Monday the 20th, by the Rev. Mr. Williams, Mr. James Brinsfield to Mary W. Dawson. ESS 06-28-1842

65. *BROHAWN, JOHN—ROBSON, SUSAN MATILDA*. On Tuesday the 18th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Weller, Mr. John Brohawn to Miss Susan Matilda Robson, all of Dorchester county. EG&ESI 01-12-1822

66. *BROMWELL, CHARLES M.—MCGINNIS, MRS. PAMELA F.* On Tuesday evening 13th inst. by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Charles M. Bromwell, to Mrs. Pamela F. McGinnis, all of this county. EG&ESI 11-17-1821

67. *BROMWELL, JEREMIAH—BOWDLE, MARY ANN*. In this county on the 5th inst., by Rev. M. Hazel, Jeremiah Bromwell, to Mary Ann Bowdle, all of this county. ESS 01-10-1843

68. *BROMWELL, ROBERT—CUMMINGS, CAROLINE*. On the 17th ult., by Rev. James A. Brindle, Robert Bromwell and Miss Caroline Cummings. TES 03-01-1870

69. *BROWN, DAVID—TROTH, ANN B.* At Friends Meeting House, near Easton, on the 26th inst., David Brown, merchant of Baltimore, to Ann B. Troth, daughter of William Troth, of Talbot county. RSOESGA 09-25-1810

70. *BROWN, JOHN—MARTIN, NANNETTE [T.]*. In this Town, on Wednesday the 27th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. John Brown, of Sol. of Caroline county, to Miss Nannette [T.], daughter of George Martin, Esq. of this town. EG&ESI 06-30-1821

71. *BRUFF, JOSEPH D.—GUEST, MARTHA ANN*. On the 17th inst., by the Rev. Job. Guests, Jos. D. Bruff, of Talbot county, to Miss Martha Ann, daughter of Samuel Guest, Esq., all of Baltimore. ESS 11-23-1841

72. *BRUFF, THOMAS—KEMP, ELIZA*. On Thursday evening, the 8th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Dorgan, Mr. Thomas Bruff, to Miss Eliza Kemp, all of this county. EG 01-24-1824

73. *BRYAN, JAMES—LeCOMPTE, EMILY W.* In Cambridge, on Tuesday evening, 5th inst., by the Rev. Alward White, Mr. James Bryan, Merchant, to Miss Emily W. LeCompte, all of Dorchester county. EG&ESI 01-11-1819

74. *BUCKLEY, JOSEPH—PORTER, SUSAN ANN*. On the 2nd inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. Joseph Buckley, to Miss Susan Ann Porter, daughter of the late Woolman Porter, all of this county. ESS 02-07-1843

75. *BULLEN, JAMES—LOVEDAY, ANN*. In this Town, on Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. James Bullen to Miss Ann Loveday, all of this county. EG 12-07-1822

76. *BULLEN, JOHN—McNEAL, REBECCA*. On Monday evening last, by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. John Bullen to Miss Rebecca McNeal, all of this county. EG&ESI 01-26-1822

77. *BULLEN, WILLIAM—MANSHIP, ELIZABETH R.* On Tuesday, the 23d February, by the Rev. Nathaniel Talbott, Mr. William Bullen, of this county, to Miss Elizabeth R. Manship, of Caroline county. EG&ESI 03-01-1819

78. *BULLEN, WILLIAM—MEARS, ELIZA ANN*. In this county on Thursday the 25th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Bullen, to Miss Eliza Ann Mears, all of this county. EG 10-04-1823

79. *BYERLY, C. OSCAR—DAWSON, CORNELIA P.* At Christ Church, on the 10th inst., by Rev. Robt. Wilson, C. Oscar Byerly, of Schuylkill Haven, Pa., to Cornelia P., daughter of M. M. and D. C. Dawson, of this place. TES 09-16-1873

80. *BYUS, J. H.—SANGSTON, HENRY A.* On Thursday the 22nd by Rev. Mr. Carlisle, Mr. J. H. Byus, of Cambridge, to Miss Henry A. Sangston, daughter of the late James Sangston, Esq. of Denton. ESS 07-27-1841

81. *CASEY, WILLIAM—WARD, MARY JANE*. In Baltimore on the 6th inst., by the Rev. Job. Guest, Mr. William Casey to Miss Mary Jane Ward. ESS 11-15-1842

82. *CASSON, THOMAS—SHANNAHAN, MRS. ELIZABETH*. In this county on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. Thos. Casson, to Mrs. Eliz. Shannahan. ESS 05-04-1841

83. *CATRUP, JAMES—HARDEN, MARY*. On Thursday evening 15th instant, by the Rev. Lott Warfield, James Catrup to Miss Mary Harden, all of this county. EG&ESI 02-17-1821

84. *CATRUP, JOHN ADISON—SKINNER, MRS. MARY E.* At St. Peter's Church, on the 16th inst., by the Rev. Father Henchey, John Adison Catrup, of Talbot county, to Mrs. Mary E. Skinner, of Queen Anne's county. TES 02-22-1870

85. *CATRUP, JOHN W.—SMITH, SARAH*. On the 13th Sept., by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. John W. Catrup, to Sarah Smith, all of this county. ESS 09-20-1842

86. *CAULK, JAMES—GRAHAM, ELIZA ANN*. On the 18th inst., by the Rev. B. Appleby, James Caulk to Eliza Ann Graham, both of Bayside. ES 01-23-1844

87. *CAULK, JOSEPH—HADDAWAY, MARY E.[LIZABETH]*. At Bayside, on Saturday the 15th inst., by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. Joseph Caulk, to Miss Mary E.[Elizabeth] Haddaway, both of this county. ESS 10-25-1842

88. *CAULK, WILLIAM—STEVENS, MRS. ARTRIGE*. On Thursday 4th inst. Major William Caulk to Mrs. Artrige Stevens, both of this county. RSOESGA 10-17-1820

89. *CAULK, WILLIAM—LAM DIN, MARY E.* At Bayside on the 6th inst., Mr. William Caulk to Miss Mary E. Lamdin. ESS 12-20-1842

90. *CHAMBERLAINE, JAMES LLOYD—MOORE, CAROLINE*. On the 3d inst. by the Rev. Mr. Burke, Mr. James Lloyd Chamberlaine, merchant of the city of Cincinnati, late of Easton, to Caroline, only daughter of A. Moore, Esq. of Green Township, state of Ohio. EG 10-25-1823

91. *CHAMBERS, ISAAC—CHAMBERLAINE, HENRIETTA MARIA*. On Monday evening last, the 9th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Wooley, Mr. Isaac Chambers, to Miss Henrietta Maria Chamberlaine, all of this Town. EG 07-13-1822

92. *CHANCE, CLEMENT—VINCENT, MARTHA*. In this county on the 23d inst., by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. Clement Chance, to Martha Vincent. ESS 02-28-1843

93. *CHAPLAIN, THOMAS—MATTHEWS, MARY E.* On the 18th inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, Thomas Chaplain to Mary E. Matthews, both of this county. ES 01-23-1844

94. *CHASE, HEBER—SKINNER, ELLEN M.* At Woodlawn, on the 8th inst., by the Rev. Doctor Spencer, Doctor Heber Chase, of Philadelphia, to Miss Ellen M. Skinner, of Talbot county, Md. ESS 06-14-1842

95. *CHILCOT, THOMAS—HIGGINS, MARY*. On Tuesday last, by Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Mr. Thomas Chilcot to Miss Mary Higgins, both of this Town. ES 12-05-1843

96. *CHOLMONDELY, EARL OF—PATTERSON, MRS. JEROME*. Lately in England Mrs.

Patterson, of Baltimore, Maryland, formerly Madame Jerome Bonaparte, to the young Earl of Cholmondeley. EG 05-24-1823

97. *CLARK, JESSE—KIRBY, MRS. SARAH ANN*. On the 19th inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. Jesse Clark, to Mrs. Sarah Ann Kirby, all of this county. ESS 01-24-1843

98. *CLARK, JOSHUA—CLIFT, MRS. ANN*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Markland, Mr. Joshua Clark, of Talbot county, E.S., to Mrs. Ann Clift of Baltimore. EG&ESI 11-29-1819

99. *CLAYLAND, LAMBERT—MARTIN, MARIA*. On Tuesday the 12th inst. Mr. Lambert Clayland, to Miss Maria Martin, both of this county. RSOESGA 01-19-1808

100. *CLAYLAND, LAMBERT—THOMPSON, MARY E. H.* In this town on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Lambert Clayland, Esq. to Miss Mary E. H. Thompson, all of this town. EG 08-16-1823

101. *COBURN, JOHN F.—HADDAWAY, RHODA*. At the residence of the bride's father, Trappe district, Feb. 25th, by Rev. E. H. Hynson, Mr. John F. Coburn and Miss Rhoda Haddaway, both of this county. TES 03-03-1874

102. *COCKAYNE, JAMES—TROTH, ELIZABETH*. On Sunday evening last, Mr. James Cockayne, to Miss Elizabeth Troth, both of this town. RSOESGA 11-12-1805

103. *COFFIN, OBED M.—MARSHALL, CAROLINE F.* In Baltimore on the 14th inst., by the Rev. J. Shane, Mr. Obed M. Coffin, of Nantucket, to Miss Caroline F. Marshall, of Talbot county. ES 03-26-1844

104. *COLE, JAMES—JONES, CAROLINE M.* In St. Michael's on the 5th inst., by E. R. Williams, Mr. James Cole to Miss Caroline M. Jones. All of Bayside. ESS 01-10-1843

105. *COLE, WILLIAM—WEEDEN, MARY E.* On Tuesday the 4th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Roby, Mr. William Cole to Miss Mary E. Weeden, all of this county. ESS 01-25-1842

106. *COLLINS, JOHN—BRADFORD, SARAH*. On Wednesday evening the 10th inst. by L. Lawrenson, the Rev. John Collins, itinerant minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to Miss Sarah Bradford of Worcester county. EG 07-27-1822

107. *COLLISON, GEORGE W.—SHEHAN, ANNIE*. On the 17th inst., by the Rev. D. Evans Reese, D.D., George W. Collison to Miss Annie Shehan, both of this county. TES 02-22-1870

108. *COLSTON, JAMES—HARDCASTLE, FRANCES*. In Caroline county, on the 18th inst. by Rev. Mr. Ridgeway, Capt. James Colston, to Miss Frances Hardcastle, daughter of Thomas Hardcastle, Esq. RSOESGA 07-25-1815

109. *COLSTON, MORRIS O.—DAWSON, ANN MATILDA*. On Tuesday evening last, 12th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Humpries, Morris O. Colston, Esq. to

Ann Matilda, daughter of John Dawson, Esq., all of this county. EG 01-23-1836

110. *COOK, JAMES—NORRIS, CATHERINE*. On Thursday evening last by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. James Cook, to Miss Catherine Norris, both of this county. EG&ESI 01-06-1821

111. *COOPER, EZEKIEL F.—[BAKER, MARY ANN]*. On Thursday, the 20th ult. by the Revd. Mr. Spry, Mr. Ezekiel F. Cooper to Miss [Mary Ann Baker]. ESS 06-01-1841

112. *COOPER, JAMES H.—LEDNUM, MARY H.* On the 19th inst., by the Rev. Danl. Weeden, James H. Cooper to Mary H. Lednum. ES 12-26-1843

113. *C[OOP]ER, JOHN C.—HARRISON, MRS. JANE D.* On the 10th inst. at the Bay Side, by Rev. G. Lanning, the Rev. John C. C[oop]er to Mrs. Jane D. Harrison. ESS 04-20-1841

114. *COOPER, THOMAS A.—BODFIELD, ELIZABETH ANN*. On Tuesday the 25th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Quinn, Mr. Thomas A. Cooper, to Miss Elizabeth Ann Bodfield, all of Caroline county. EG 06-29-1822

115. *CORKRALL, THOMAS—McDONNELL, MARY*. On the 19th inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, Thomas Corkrall to Mary McDonnell, all of this county. ESS 01-24-1843

116. *CORKRELL, WILLIAM—GLANVILLE, ELIZABETH*. On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Allen, Mr. Wm. Corkrell to Elizabeth Glanville. ESS 05-16-1843

117. *COUNCELL, FRANCIS—TURBUTT, SOPHIA*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. James Movniham, Mr. Francis Councill to Miss Sophia Turbutt, all of this county. EG 11-30-1822

118. *COVEY, JACOB—TURNER, LUCINDA*. On Thursday the 15th inst., by the Rev. Mr. McManice, Mr. Jacob Covey to Miss Lucinda Turner, both of Caroline county. ESS 09-20-1842

119. *COVEY, ROBERT—VINTON, MARY*. On Tuesday evening the 23d inst. by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Robert Covey to Miss Mary Vinton, both of this Town. EG&ESI 10-27-1821

120. *COX, HENRY—NEWNAM, SUSAN ANN*. On the 30th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. Henry Cox, to Miss Susan Ann Newnam, all of this county. ESS 01-04-1842

121. *COX, ISAAC P.—CATRUP, ELIZABETH [ANN]*. By the Rev. John Henry, on the 5th inst., Mr. Isaac P. Cox to Miss Elizabeth [Ann] Catrup. ESS 01-17-1843

122. *COX, JAMES S.—SAXON, ANNA W.* At the M.E. Parsonage, in Easton, on the 28th ult., by Rev. George A. Phoebe, James S. Cox and Anna W. Saxon, all of Talbot county. TES 05-03-1870

123. *COX, JOHN W.—SMITH, LAURA R.* At Galena, Kent county, Md., on the 15th inst., by Rev. John Hough, John W. Cox, of Easton, to Laura R., daughter of Wm. Smith, Esq., of the former place. TES 03-22-1870

124. *COX, SAMUEL—DAWSON, MRS. ANNIE*. In Trappe, on 2nd inst., by Rev. Wm. C. Maloy, Samuel Cox and Mrs. Annie Dawson, all of Talbot county. TES 04-08-1873

125. *COX, WILLIAM—LEONARD, HENRIETTA*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, William Cox, to Henrietta Leonard, all of this county. ESS 04-18-1843

126. *CRAY, THOMAS—CAULK, ELIZA DAWSON*. On Thursday evening last, Mr. Thomas Cray to Miss Eliza Dawson Caulk, both of this Town. RSOESGA 07-22-1806

127. *CRISFIELD, JOHN W.—HANDY, MARY W.* In Princess Anne, Md., on the 12th ult., by the Rev. T. W. Simpson, John W. Crisfield, Esq., to Mary W., daughter of Gen. George Handy, all of Somerset county. ESS 05-09-1843

128. *CROSSBY, SAMUEL—FRAMPTON, MARGARETT ANN*. On the 8th inst. by the Rev. Jesse Thompson, Mr. Samuel Crossby, of Queen Ann's county to Miss Margaret Ann Frampton, of Talbot. ESS 06-15-1841

129. *CULBRETH, THOMAS—HARDCASTLE, ANN*. On Sunday last, in the state of Delaware, Thomas Culbreth, Esq. to Miss Ann Hardcastle, both of Caroline county. RSOESGA 08-07-1810

130. *CUMMINGS, EDWARD—IRELAND, SUSAN ANN*. On Thursday the 16th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. Edward Cummings to Mrs. Susan Ann Ireland. ESS 12-28-1841

131. *CUMMINGS, HENRY C.—HADDAWAY, RACHEL*. On Tilghman's Island, Jan. 22, 1874, by Rev. W. B. Walton, Henry C. Cummings to Miss Rachel Haddaway. TES 01-27-1874

132. *CUMMINGS, JOSEPH—LARIMORE, MARTHA ANN*. On Thursday last by the Rev. Daniel Weeden, Joseph Cummings to Martha Ann Larimore, all of this county. ESS 05-09-1843

133. *DAVIS, BLANEY—COMMENGER, MARY J.* On the 30th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. Blaney Davis, to Miss Mary J. Commenger. ESS 01-04-1842

134. *DAVIS, EDWARD Y.—YOE, ELLEN ANN*. On the 16th, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. Edward Y. Davis to Ellen Ann Yoe. ESS 09-21-1841

135. *DAVIS, JAMES C.—BECKWITH, ELIZABETH E.* On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Wm. Spry, Mr. James C. Davis to Elizabeth E. Beckwith of this county. ESS 11-16-1841

136. *DAVIS, JAMES E[NNALLS]—SEWELL, MARY E[LIZABETH]*. At St. Michael's, April 22nd, by E. R. Williams, Mr. James E[nnalls] Davis to Miss Mary E[lizabeth] Sewell, all of this county. ES 05-23-1843

137. *DAWSON, ALFRED H.—CHEEZUM, ELLA NORTH*. At Christ's Church, Easton, on Tuesday, the 3d inst., by Rev. Robert Wilson, Alfred H. Dawson, to Miss Ella North, eldest daughter of John W. Cheezum, Esq., all of Easton.

The above was accompanied by a delicious cake,

for which we make our editorial acknowledgements, by wishing the amiable couple a long life of unalloyed happiness. TES 10-10-1871

138. *DAWSON, C. S.—SREGAR, EFFIE*. On the 10th inst., by Rev. Mr. Dudley, of Christ Church, Baltimore, C. S. Dawson, of Easton, to Miss Effie Sregar, of Baltimore. TES 10-24-1871

139. *DAWSON, EDWARD M.—PARROTT, SUSAN H.* On Thursday evening last, the 13th inst., by the Rev. Henry M. Mason, D.D., Edward M. Dawson, of the firm of Dawson & Sons, to Susan H., daughter of James Parrott, Esq., all of this Town. EG 09-15-1838

140. *DAWSON, JAMES—KINNAMONT, NANCY*. On Sunday last by Rev. Mr. Clark, Mr. James Dawson, to Miss Nancy Kinnamont, of this county. RSOESGA 02-20-1821

141. *DAWSON, JAMES—HAMBLETON, LOUISA*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Humphriss, Dr. James Dawson, to Miss Louisa, daughter of William Hambleton, Esq., all of this county. EG 01-17-1835

142. *DAWSON, JOHN—ROBSON, MARY*. On Tuesday evening the 12th inst., by the Rev. L. Warfield, Major John Dawson to Miss Mary Robson, all of this county. EG 02-16-1829

143. *DAWSON, ROBERT—HARRISON, SUSAN*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Robert Dawson to Miss Susan Harrison, all of this county. EG 04-20-1822

144. *DAWSON, R[OBERT] J[AMES]—NICOLS, WILLI[EA]NNA*. At the Trappe M.E. Church South, Nov. 19th by Rev. J. E. Reed, R[obert] J[ames] Dawson and Miss Willi[ea]nna Nicols. TES 12-04-1877

145. *DAWSON, THOMAS C.—LINTHICUM, HARRIET*. On Tuesday the 11th inst. by the Rev. Daniel Bain, Capt. Thomas C. Dawson, of Centreville, Queen-Ann's county, to Miss Harriet Linthicum, of Dorchester county. RSOESGA 02-25-1823

146. *DAWSON, THOMAS SCOTT—GROOM, MARIA E.* On Tuesday last, 5th instant, by the Rev. H. M. Mason, D.D., Mr. Thomas Scott Dawson, of the firm of Dawson and Sons, to Miss Maria E., only daughter of Mr. Peregrine Groom, all of this Town. EG 11-09-1839

147. *DAWSON, WILLIAM H.—KEMP, SOPHIA*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William H. Dawson, to Miss Sophia Kemp, all of this county. EG 11-22-1828

148. *DAWSON, ZENOS—DILLON, JANE*. On the 19th, by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. Zenos Dawson, of Caroline county, to Miss Jane Dillon, of Queen Ann's. ESS 01-25-1842

149. *DELAHAY, JESSE—BROMWELL, SARAH*. On Thursday evening the 29th instant, by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Jesse Delahay to Miss Sarah Bromwell, all of this county. EG&ESI 03-31-1821

150. *DELAHAY, ROBERT—STEVENS, SALLY*. On Saturday last by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr.

Robert Delahay, to Miss Sally Stevens, all of this county. EG&ESI 01-05-1822

151. *DENNY, BENJAMIN—RHODES, MARY-ANN*. On Tuesday 22d inst. by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. Benjamin Denny, sen., to Miss Maryann Rhodes, all of this county. EG&ESI 05-26-1821

152. *DENNY, JOHN E.—DAWSON, MARY*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Higgins, Mr. John E. Denny, of Queen Ann's county, to Miss Mary Dawson, of this county. EG 10-25-1823

153. *DENNY, THEODORE—SETH, ANN*. On Monday evening, 26th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Martin-dale, Dr. Theodore Denny, to Miss Ann Seth, both of this Town. RSOESGA 02-03-1818

154. *DENNY, WILLIAM H.—SKINNER, SALLIE A.* On the 27th ult., at the residence of the bride's father, by Rev. Wm. Hammond, Mr. William H. Denny, of Talbot county, to Miss Sallie A. Skinner, of Queen Anne's county. TES 02-08-1870

155. *DEWLIN, JOHN—PRICE, ANN*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John Dowlin to Miss Ann Price, all of this county. EG 03-16-1822

156. *DEWLIN, WILLIAM—KEMP, HARRIET*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Thomas, Mr. William Dewlin, to Miss Harriet Kemp, all of this county. EG 12-31-1825

157. *DICKINSON, SAMUEL P[HILEMON]—MARTIN, LUCRETIA T[HOMAS]*. On Tuesday the 31st ult., by the Rev. H. M. Mason, D.D., Dr. Samuel P[hilemon] Dickinson to Miss Lucretia T[homas] Martin, daughter of Edward Martin, Esq.—all of this county. ESS 06-07-1842

158. *DORSEY, JAMES C.—BARTLETT, MARY E.* On the 5th inst., by Rev. D. L. Greenfield, James C. Dorsey to Miss Mary E. Bartlett, both of this county. TES 05-17-1870

159. *DOVE, JOHN H.—KERR, RACHEL ANN*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Robert W. Goldsborough, John H. Dove, Esq., of Worcester county, to Rachel Ann, daughter of the Hon. John Leeds Kerr. ESS 10-04-1842

160. *DUDLEY, JOHN—FREEMAN, MARY*. On Tuesday evening last, in the neighborhood of Greensborough, Caroline county, by the Rev. Mr. Talbot, Mr. John Dudley, to Miss Mary Freeman, both of this county. EG&ESI 02-21-1820

161. *DUDLEY, THOMAS—WRIGHT, ANN E[LIZABETH]*. In Queen Ann's, on Monday the 5th July, Mr. Thos. Dudley, to Miss Ann E[lizabeth], daughter of the late Nathaniel Wright, Esq. of Q. Ann's county. ESS 07-13-1841

162. *DUHAMEL, JAMES—O'BRYAN, MARTHA*. On Sunday, the 10th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Monahan, Mr. James Durhamel to Martha O'Bryan, both of Queen Ann's county. EG&ESI 01-18-1819

163. *DULIN, THOMAS WILLSON—GHOLT, SARAH ANN*. On Thursday, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Thomas Willson Dulin to Sarah Ann Gholt, all of this county. ESS 04-18-1843

164. *EDGAR, JOHN—GREENHAWK, LYDIA.* On Sunday the 9th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John Edgar to Miss Lydia Greenhawk, all of this county. EG 08-16-1823

165. *EDGEELL, LEVI S.—NELSON, S. EMMA.* On the 18th of January, by Rev. Dr. Kenney, Levi S. Edgell, of Talbot county, to Miss S. Emma Nelson, of Queen Anne's county. TES 03-01-1870

166. *EDWARDS, THOMAS J.—LEONARD, MOLLIE E.* At the residence of the bride's mother, in Easton, on the 23d inst., by Rev. D. L. Greenfield, Thos. J. Edwards to Miss Mollie E. Leonard, both of Easton. TES 06-28-1870

167. *ELBERT, JOHN L.—TROTH, HARRIOT.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Lieut. John L. Elbert, of the U.S. Army, to Miss Harriot Troth, of this county. RSOESGA 02-23-1819

168. *ELLIOTT, BENJAMIN—GEORGE, MARY ELIZABETH.* In Queen Ann's county, on Tuesday 30th ult. at the residence of Mr. Joseph George, by the Rev. Mr. Bishop, Mr. Benjamin Elliott, to Miss Mary Elizabeth George—both of said county. EG&ESI 12-06-1819

169. *ELLIOTT, BENJAMIN S.—HARD-CASTLE, SARAH.* On Sunday the 20th ult. by the Rev. James Bateman, Mr. Benjamin S. Elliott, of Queen Ann's county, to the amiable Miss Sarah Hardcastle, of Caroline county. RSOESGA 09-05-1826

170. *ELLIOTT, OLIVER—LEAVERTON, MOLLIE E.* At the bride's residence, in Miles River Neck, on the 6th of January, by Rev. Mr. Shipley, Oliver Elliott to Miss Mollie E. Leaverton. TES 03-01-1870

171. *EMBERT, JOHN R. H.—GRIFFIN, L. CECILIA.* On the 8th inst., at St. Peter's Church, near Queenstown, by the Rev. Father Henchey, John R. H. Embert to Miss L. Cecelia Griffin, all of Queen Anne's county. TES 06-14-1870

172. *EMBERT, WILLIAM H.—BLADES, CLARINDA.* In this county a few days since, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, William H. Embert to Clarinda Blades. ESS 01-03-1843

173. *EMERSON, J. H.—WHITBY, SARAH LAURITTA.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. William Connolly, J. H. Emerson, Editor of the Denton Pearl, to Miss Sarah Lauritta, daughter of Nathan Whitby, Esq., all of Caroline county. ES 11-07-1843

174. *EMMONS, REUBEN P.—MARTIN, MARY ANN.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Reuben P. Emmons, Esq. to Miss Mary Ann Martin, all of this county. EG&ESI 01-19-1822

175. *EMORY, SAMUEL T.—NICOLS, MARIA.* On Tuesday the 19th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Wooly, Mr. Samuel T. Emory, Merchant, Centreville, to Miss Maria Nicols, only daughter of the late Samuel Nicols. EG&ESI 06-30-1821

176. *EWING, EDWIN—STRAWHN, MARY ANN.* On the 20th ult. by the Rev. Jesse Thompson,

Mr. Edwin Ewing, to Miss Mary Ann Strawhn, both of this county. ESS 06-01-1841

177. *FAIRBANK, JAMES H.—HAMBLETON, ADALINE.* At St. Michael's on the 13th inst., Mr. Jas. H. Fairbank to Miss Adaline Hambleton. ESS 12-20-1842

178. *FASSITT, WILLIAM D.—PATTISON, CHARLOTTE H. R.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. J. T. Hazard, Mr. Wm. D. Fassitt, of Worcester county, to Miss Charlotte H. R. Pattison of Dorchester county. ESS 09-20-1842

179. *FAULKNER, GEORGE W.—CLARK, EMILY C.* In Trappe district, on the 2d inst., by the Rev. E. Davis, George W. Faulkner and Miss Emily C. Clark, all of this county. TES 01-14-1873

180. *FAULKNER, JAMES—GODWIN, MARGARET.* On Thursday the 9th instant, by the Rev. Mr. Sparks, Mr. James Faulkner to Miss Margaret Godwin, both of Queen Ann's county. EG&ESI 12-13-1819

181. *FAULKNER, JOHN F.—SHERWOOD, MARGARETT.* On the 5th inst., by Rev. John Henry, John F. Faulkner to Margaret Sherwood. ESS 01-17-1843

182. *FAULKNER, WILLIAM—STICHBERRY, CHARLOTTE.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. William Faulkner of Queen Ann's county, to Miss Charlotte Stichberry, of this county. EG&ESI 02-02-1822

183. *FAULKNER, WILLIAM H.—ROBINSON, SUSAN.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William H. Faulkner to Miss Susan Robinson, all of this county. EG&ESI 12-08-1821

184. *FAULKNER, WILLIAM H. S.—GORE, FRANCES A.* On Saturday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. William H. S. Faulkner, to Miss Frances A. Gore, both of this county. ESS 08-23-1842

185. *FERGUSON, WILLIAM—GREGORY, MARY.* In this county, on Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Ferguson, to Miss Mary Gregory, all of this county. EG 08-16-1823

186. *FLEMING, ALEXANDER—KEENE, DOLLY.* Married in Dorchester, on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Dr. Kemp, Mr. Alexander Fleming, Merchant, to Miss Dolly Keene. TPM 06-03-1809

187. *FLEMMING, JOHN—DELEHAY, MRS. JANE.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John Flemming to Mrs. Jane Delehay, both of this Town. EG&ESI 11-10-1821

188. *FLINT, JOSEPH—JACOBS, RHODA ANN.* In Denton, on the 14th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Connelly, Dr. Joseph Flint, of Cambridge, Md., to Miss Rhoda Ann Jacobs of Seaford, Delaware. ES 12-26-1843

189. *FLYNN, EDWARD—MATTHEWS, MARY ANN.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Edward Flynn, Esq., of Hillsboro', Caroline county, to Miss Mary Ann Matthews, of Talbot. ES 02-20-1844

190. *FOOKS, JOHN W.—HOPKINS, MRS. ELIZABETH J.* At the residence of the bride, in Miles River Neck, on the 8th inst., by Rev. J. L. Shipley, John W. Fooks and Mrs. Elizabeth J. Hopkins. TES 02-15-1870
TES 02-15-1870

191. *FORD, WILLIAM A.—GRIFFITH, ANN E.* On Thursday the 23rd inst., at Col. Abram Griffith's, Mr. Wm. A. Ford, to Miss Ann E. Griffith, all of Caroline. ESS 12-28-1841

192. *FORMAN, EZEKIEL—EARLE, HENRIETTA [M.]* On Thursday evening last, at the residence of R. Ll. Tilghman, Esq., by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, Ezekiel Forman, Esq., to Miss Henrietta [M.] Earle, daughter of the late James Earle, all of this county. EG&ESI 01-25-1819

193. *FOUNTAIN, DAVID—HARRINGTON, MRS. SARAH.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. David Fountain to Mrs. Sarah Harrington, all of this county. EG 06-21-1823

194. *FOUNTAIN, JOHN C.—SKINNER, ELIZABETH.* In Queen Ann's county, on the 2d inst., by the Rev. Mr. Everist, John C. Fountain of Talbot county, to Miss Elizabeth Skinner of Queen Anne's county. ES 11-14-1843

195. *FRAMPTON, ALEXANDER [H.]—GRACE, ELIZABETH [ANN].* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. B. Appleby, Alexander [H.] Frampton to Miss Elizabeth [Ann] Grace, both of this Town. ES 10-17-1843

196. *FRAMPTON, BAYNARD—BRIGHT, PHOEBE.* On Thursday evening the 14th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Baynard Frampton, to Miss Phoebe Bright, all of this county. EG&ESI 06-16-1821

197. *FRAMPTON, CHARLES E.—MARSHALL, SUSAN E.* On the 28th ult., by the Rev. Thos. E. Bell, Charles E. Frampton and Miss Susan E. Marshall, all of Bayside. TES 01-18-1870

198. *FRAMPTON, JOHN—FRAMPTON, ELIZABETH.* On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Henry, John Frampton to Elizabeth Frampton; both of this county. ESS 02-21-1843

199. *FRAMPTON, RICHARD—MARTINDALE, MRS. MARY.* On Thursday the 7th inst., by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Richard Frampton to Mrs. Mary Martindale, both of this county. EG&ESI 09-16-1820

200. *FRAMPTON, RICHARD—BARNETT, SUSAN.* In this county on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. Richard Frampton to Miss Susan Barnett, all of Talbot county. ES 08-15-1843

201. *FRAMPTON, RISDON—PECKHAM, ELIZA.* On the 26th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Henry, Mr. Risdon Frampton to Miss Eliza Peckham, both of this county. ESS 01-31-1843

202. *FRAZIER, THOMAS—KERSEY, MRS. MARY L.* On Thursday last, by the Rev. John Price, Captain Thomas Frazier, of Dorchester county, to Mrs. Mary L. Kersey, of this county. RSOESGA 05-09-1809

203. *GAIRY, THOMAS F.—MELONEY, MRS. MARY A.* In Caroline county on Tuesday evening last, the 16th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Thomas F. Gairy to Mrs. Mary A. Meloney, both of that county. ESS 11-30-1841

204. *GARRETTSON, FREEBURN, JR.—WATERS, ELIZABETH HUTCHENS.* On the 23d ultimo, by the Rev. Lawrence Lawrenson, Mr. Freeburn Garrettson, Jr. of Rhinebeck, New York, to Miss Elizabeth Hutchens Waters, daughter of Francis H. Waters, Esq. of Somerset county. EG 10-11-1823

205. *GEALON, WILLIAM W.—KINNAMON, MARY.* On the 19th inst. by the Rev. Jesse Thompson, Mr. Wm. W. Gealon, to Miss Mary Kinnamon, all of this county. ESS 05-31-1842

206. *GEORGE, ENOCH [PHILIPIAN]—BOON, CATHARINE.* On the 3d inst. at the residence of Matthias George, Esq., Dr. Enoch [Philipian] George of Q. Ann's, to Miss Catharine Boon, of Caroline. ESS 06-29-1841

207. *GIBBS, RICHARD—RUSSELL, HEPZIBAL.* On Tuesday, 13th April, at Cincinnati, Ohio, by the Revd. Ed. W. Sehon, Rich'd Gibbs, of Easton, Md., to Hepzibal Russell, of that city. ESS 04-27-1841

208. *GIBSON, FAYETTE—CHEW, MARY CLAGGETT.* On Tuesday the 6th instant, in Calvert county, by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, Fayette Gibson, Esq. of Talbot, to Miss Mary Claggett Chew, daughter of John Chew, Esq. of the former place. EG&ESI 02-17-1821

209. *GIBSON, THOMAS W.—GIBSON, MARY J.* On the 28th ult., by Rev. James A. Brindle, Thos. W. Gibson and Mary J. Gibson, both of Bay Hundred. TES 01-18-1870

210. *GOLDSBOROUGH, CHARLES, JR.—CALDWELL, CAROLINE.* On Thursday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Charles Goldsborough, Jr., to Caroline, daughter of Col. Jabez Caldwell, all of this county. EG&ESI 12-30-1820

211. *GOLDSBOROUGH, JAMES N.—KENNEDY, MARY E.* In Norfolk, on the 2d inst., by the Rev. Mr. Beal, James N. Goldsborough, Esq., of Talbot county, Md., to Miss Mary E., daughter of Commodore Edmund P. Kennedy, of the U.S. Navy. ESS 11-23-1841

212. *GOLDSBOROUGH, RICHARD H.—MARTIN, HENRIETTA M. F.* At Christ Church, Easton, on the 31st ult., by Rev. O. Hutton, Richard H. Goldsborough, of Baltimore, and Miss Henrietta M. F., daughter of James L. Martin, Esq., of this town. TES 06-07-1870

213. *GRACE, JOHN—MORGAN, MARYANN.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Wooley, Mr. John Grace to Miss Maryann Morgan, all of this county. EG 07-13-1822

214. *GRAHAM, JOHN—HARRISON, MARY-ANN.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John Graham, to Miss Maryann Harrison, all of this county. EG&ESI 01-05-1822

215. *GREENWELL, PHILIP—CADDEEN, SUSANNA*. At Woodbury, the residence of John Leigh, Esq. on Tuesday evening 26th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Monnelly, Mr. Philip Greenwell to Miss Susanna Caddeen, all of St. Mary's coun'y. EG&ESI 07-14-1821

216. *GROVER, B. H.—HADDAWAY, LIZZIE A.* At Williamsport, Pa., March 2nd, 1879, by the Rev. S. Stewart, Mr. B. H. Grover, of New York city, and Miss Lizzie A. Haddaway, of New Orleans. TES 08-05-1879

217. *GUN, JOHN—LOCKE, MOLLY*. In Athol, Mr. John Gun, to Miss Molly Locke.—what is a gun without a lock? EG&ESI 03-08-1819

218. *HACKETT, WILLIAM—HARDCASTLE, MARY*. On Tuesday evening the 7th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Mr. William Hackett, of Queen Ann's county, to Miss Mary, second daughter of Mr. Robert Hardcastle, of Caroline county. EG 09-18-1824

219. *HADDAWAY, CHARLES E.—GOOTER, WILLIE*. On the 7th inst., by Rev. J. T. Van Burklow, at Wm. Stafford's, in Hunting Creek Neck, Caroline county, Charles E. Haddaway, of Talbot county, and Miss Willie Gooter, of Caroline. TES 08-19-1873

220. *HADDAWAY, CHARLES W[ILLIAM]—NEWNAM, AMANDA*. On the 10th inst., by Rev. J. D. Long, Charles W[illiam] Haddaway, to Amanda, daughter of Jno. Newnam, Esq. ES 01-17-1854

221. *HADDAWAY, DANIEL J.—CUMMINGS, FRANCES*. In Lower Broad Creek Neck, October 29th, 1882, by Rev. J. E. Kidney, Mr. Daniel J. Haddaway and Miss Frances Cummings. TES 11-07-1882

222. *HADDAWAY, EDWARD C. V.—CUMMINGS, MARGARET F.* On Sept. 30th., in St. Michaels, by Rev. J. D. Rigg and E. N. Kirby, Edward C. V. Haddaway to Miss Margaret F. Cummings, all of Talbot. TES 10-07-1884

223. *HADDAWAY, GEORGE E.—FAITHFUL, ANNIE ROCHESTER*. At St. Luke's Church, Queen Anne's county, on the 14th instant by Rev. E. F. Dashiell, Geo. E. Haddaway, of St. Michaels, to Annie Rochester, daughter of W. E. B. Faithful, Esq., of Queen Anne's county. TEG 01-30-1869

224. *HADDAWAY, HOPKINS—LEVERTON, PAMELIA ANN*. In Baltimore, on Tuesday evening, 15th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Steel, Hopkins Haddaway, of Talbot county, to Miss Pamela Ann Levertton, of that city. EG 12-19-1840

225. *HADDAWAY, HUGH—CUMMINGS, REBECCA*. On the 19th ult., by Rev. J. E. Maloy, Hugh Haddaway and Rebecca Cummings. TES 01-07-1873

226. *HADDAWAY, JAMES E.—PHILLIPS, AMANDA B.* On the 3d inst., by Rev. John Hough, James E. Haddaway and Miss Amanda B. Phillips, both of this county. TES 07-12-1870

227. *HADDAWAY, JOHN N[EWNAM]—LLOYD, [HENRIETTA KEMP]*. On the 20th ult., at Trappe, by Rev. B. W. Bond, John N[ewnam] Haddaway and [Henrietta Kemp] "Nellie" Lloyd, all of this county. TES 11-09-1875

228. *HADDAWAY, JOSEPH J.—HADDAWAY, EMILY A. B.* On the 6th inst., by Rev. J. W. Everist, Jos. J. Haddaway to Miss Emily A. B. Haddaway, all of Talbot county. TEG 08-22-1868

229. *HADDAWAY, ROBERT L.—LARRIMORE, MAGGIE A.* In Baltimore, on the 4th of June last, by Rev. Mr. Downs, Robert L. Haddaway, of Talbot county, to Maggie A. Larrimore, of Baltimore. TEG 08-22-1868

230. *HADDAWAY S[AMUEL] W[ILMER]—THOMPSON, [MARY ELIZABETH]*. On the 24th ult., by the Rev. J. P. Etehison, Rev. S[amuel] W[ilmer] Haddaway and [Mary Elizabeth] "Mollie", eldest daughter of Dr. R[ichard] H[amilton] Thompson, of Buckeystown, Frederick county, Md. TES 03-09-1875

231. *HADDAWAY, THOMAS C.—BALL, MARY A.* On the 12th inst., by Rev. J. D. Long, Thomas C. Haddaway to Miss Mary A. Ball. ES 02-19-1856

232. *HADDAWAY, WILLIAM HENRY—HOLTON, MARY P.* January 6th, at Grace Chapel, Oxford, by Rev. Albert R. Walker, Wm. Henry Haddaway and Miss Mary P. Holton. TES 01-20-1885

233. *HAHN, HENRY—HADDAWAY, MARGARET*. On Thursday last, Mr. Henry Hahn to Miss Margaret Haddaway, both of this county. RSOESGA 12-19-1809

234. *HAMBLETON, ALFRED—HARRISON, RUTH*. In this county, on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. John Dorgan, Mr. Alfred Hambleton, to Miss Ruth Harrison, daughter of James Harrison, Esq., all of this county. EG 05-24-1823

235. *HAMBLETON, HUGH S.—SHERWOOD, MARY*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Hugh S. Hambleton, to Miss Mary Sherwood, both of this county. EG&ESI 11-24-1821

236. *HARDCASTLE, EDWARD—DUKES, SARAH ANN*. Near Denton, on Tuesday 21st, by the Rev. Mr. Carlisle, Mr. Edward Hardcastle, to Miss Sarah Ann, eldest daughter of Cap. James Dukes. ESS 12-28-1841

237. *HARDCASTLE, EDWARD B.—LOCKWOOD, MARY ANN*. On the 12th inst. by the Rev. John Durborough, Mr. Edward B. Hardcastle, Merchant, of Denton, Caroline county, Maryland, to Miss Mary Ann Lockwood, daughter of Caleb Lockwood, Esq. of Whiteleysburg, Kent county, Delaware. EG 11-23-1822

238. *HARDCASTLE, HARRISON—KENTON, ELIZA*. On Thursday last by the Rev. Abraham Jump, Mr. Harrison Hardcastle to Miss Eliza Kenton, all of Caroline county. RSOESGA 06-06-1826

239. *HARDCASTLE, WILLIAM M.—COLSTON, ANNA*. On the 28th ult., Mr. William M. Hardcastle, of Thomas, of Caroline county, to Miss Anna Colston, daughter of Mr. Henry Colston, of this county. RSOESGA 08-27-1805

240. *HARRIS, EDWARD S.—DENNY, LYDIA*. In this county, on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Edward S. Harris, to Miss Lydia Denny, all of this county. EG 11-05-1825

241. *HARRIS, JOSEPH B.—CAIN, ANN*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Joseph B. Harris to Miss Ann Cain, all of this county. EG 11-03-1827

242. *HARRIS, ROBERT—BLADES, MARGARET ANN*. At St. Michael's, on the 20th inst., by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. Robert Harris to Miss Margaret Ann Blades. ESS 12-27-1842

243. *HARRIS, TURBUTT—EARLE, MARIA*. On Thursday evening last, in Queen Ann's county, Mr. Turbutt Harris, to Miss Maria Earle, of said county. RSOESGA 08-25-1807

244. *HARRIS, WILLIAM—PORTER, SUSAN*. On Thursday, first instant, Mr. William Harris, Merchant, Queen's Town, to Miss Susan Porter, of Talbot county. RSOESGA 02-13-1810

245. *HARRISON, ALEXANDER B.—SPENCER, ELEANOR*. On Tuesday last, Mr. Alexander B. Harrison, to Miss Eleanor Spencer, daughter of Col. Perry Spencer, all of this county. RSOESGA 05-28-1816

246. *HARRISON, EDWARD—LEONARD MARTHA ANN*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Mr. Edward Harrison, to Miss Martha Ann Leonard, both of this county. ES 03-05-1844

247. *HARRISON, FREDERICK—HARDCASTLE, ELIZA*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Frederick Harrison, of St. Michaels, Talbot county, to Miss Eliza Hardcastle, of Caroline county. RSOESGA 02-15-1825

248. *HARRISON, KENSEY—WRIGHT, MRS. MARGARET ELIZABETH*. On the 15th inst., in Queen Ann's county, by the Rev. Mr. Johns, Kensey Harrison, Esq., to Mrs. Margaret Elizabeth Wright, both of the same county. EG&ESI 06-21-1819

249. *HARRISON, ROBERT L[AMBDIN]—HARRISON, CAROLINE*. In this county on the 29th ult., by the Rev. John Durgan, Mr. Robert L[ambdin] Harrison, to Miss Caroline Harrison, all of this county. EG 12-08-1827

250. *HARRISON, STEPHAN—SPENCER, SUSAN[NAH]*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Stephan Harrison, to Miss Susan[nah] Spencer, daughter of Capt. Richard Spencer, all of this county. RSOESGA 12-22-1818

251. *HARRISON, WILLIAM—DENT, MARTHA*. On Tuesday evening 10th inst., Mr. William Harrison, of this county, to Miss Martha Dent, of Baltimore. RSOESGA 12-24-1805

252. *HARRISON, WILLIAM—HAMBLETON, MARY ANN*. On Wednesday December 6th, by Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. William Harrison to Miss Mary Ann Hambleton, all of this county. EG 01-02-1841

253. *HARRISON, WILLIAM T.—BRIDGES, MARGARET J.* In Broad Creek, on the 3d inst., by Rev. T. E. Bell, William T. Harrison and Miss Margaret J. Bridges, all of this county. TES 07-12-1870

254. *HARWOOD, HENRY D.—LEAVERTON, MARY EMILY*. On the 6th inst. at the Chapel, by the Rev. Jesse Thompson, Mr. Henry D. Harwood, to Miss Mary Emily Leaverton, both of this county. ESS 05-11-1841

255. *HASKINS, BARCLAY—HAYWARD, ELIZABETH R.* On Tuesday, 29th ult., by the Rev. Dr. Mason, Barclay Haskins, Esq., to Miss Elizabeth R. Hayward, daughter of the late Thomas Hayward, Esq., all of this county. ESS 12-06-1842

256. *HAYWARD, THOMAS S.—NICOLS, HENRIETTA M.* In Baltimore on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Henshaw, Thomas S. Hayward, Esq. of this Town to Miss Henrietta M. Nicols, of the former place. RSOESGA 11-07-1826

257. *HAYWARD, WILLIAM—LLOYD, HENRIETTA M.* On Tuesday evening last, Col. William Hayward to Miss Henrietta M. Lloyd, both of this county. RESOESGA 02-11-1806

258. *HEMSLEY, ALEXANDER—WEST, ELIZABETH*. At Philadelphia, on Thursday the 14th inst. by the Rev. Bishop White, Alexander Hemsley, Esq. of this county, to Miss Elizabeth, second daughter of Francis West, Esq. of that city. EG 03-02-1822

259. *HENRY, WILLIAM—DRAPER, SUSAN*. On the 5th inst. by Rev. Mr. Bell, William Henry, to Susan Draper, all of this county. ESS 08-10-1841

260. *HIGGINS, JAMES W.—JACKSON, ANN*. On Tuesday evening last by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. James W. Higgins to Miss Ann Jackson, all of this county. EG 02-23-1822

261. *HIGGINS, ROBERT—ANDREWS, HESTER ANN*. On the 11th inst., by the Rev. J. Bell, Mr. Robert Higgins to Miss Hester Ann Andrews. ESS 11-16-1841

262. *HOBBS, THOMAS—GOSSAGE, MARIA ANN*. On the 7th, by the Rev. Mr. Henry, Thos. Hobbs to Maria Ann Gossage, all of this county. 05-10-1842 ESS

263. *HOLDEN, CALEB T.—HADDAWAY, MATILDA L.* In the Bayside on the 3d inst., by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. Caleb T. Holden of the city of Baltimore, to Miss Matilda L., eldest daughter of Danl. L. Haddaway, Esq. ES 06-06-1843

264. *HOLLAND, WILLIAM J.—JACKSON, ELIZABETH A.* On the 24th ult., by Rev. James A. Brindle, William J. Holland and Miss Elizabeth A. Jackson. TES 01-18-1870

265. *HOLLYDAY, RICHARD—EARLE, BESSIE T.* On the 17th inst., at Christ Church,

Easton, by Rev. O. Hutton, Richard Hollyday, of Queen Anne's, to Bessie T., daughter of Dr. J[ohn] C. Earle, of Easton. TES 05-31-1870

266. *HOLT, JOHN H.—SETH, MARY E[NNALLS]*. At Easton, on Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Dr. John H. Holt, to Miss Mary E[nnalls], youngest daughter of the late Dr. Wm. S. Seth, all of Talbot county. EG 07-02-1831

267. *HOOPER, JOHN H.—BIRCKHEAD, ANN*. In Cambridge, on Wednesday the 16th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Weller, Dr. John H. Hooper to Miss Ann Birkhead, all of Cambridge. EG&ESI 01-19-1822

268. *HOOPER, JOSEPH S.—HODSON, ANN*. In Dorchester county, on Tuesday 5th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Seward, Mr. Joseph S. Hooper to Miss Ann Hodson. EG 03-16-1822

269. *HOPKINS, DENNIS—HALE, ELIZABETH*. In this Town, on Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Warfield, Mr. Dennis Hopkins, to Miss Elizabeth Hale, all of this county. EG 12-07-1822

270. *HOPKINS, GEORGE—WINRIGHT, JANE E. B.* On Wednesday evening last, by the Rev. William M. Stone, Mr. George Hopkins of Matthias, to Miss Jane E. B. only daughter of Mr. Levin Winright, all of Somerset county. EG&ESI 01-19-1822

271. *HOPKINS, JEREMIAH—VICKARS, MRS. ELIZABETH*. On Thursday evening by the Rev. Mr. White, Mr. Jeremiah Hopkins, to Mrs. Elizabeth Vickars, all of this county. EG&ESI 12-06-1819

272. *HOPKINS, JOHN R.—WILSON, EMILY B.* On Wednesday morning last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. John R. Hopkins to Miss Emily B. Wilson, all of this county. ESS 06-29-1841

273. *HOPKINS, SAMUEL—RICHARDSON, REBECCA*. On Tuesday 22d of June, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, of Talbot county, to Miss Rebecca Richardson, daughter of Mr. Thomas Richardson, of Queen Ann's county. EG&ESI 07-05-1819

274. *HOPKINS, WILLIAM—EDMONDSON, MRS. ELIZABETH*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Hopkins to Mrs. Elizabeth Edmondson, all of this Town. EG 06-21-1823

275. *HOPPER, PHILEMON B.—THOMAS, MARGARET ANN*. At the residence of Daniel C. Hopper, Esq., on Monday evening the 2d instant by the Rev. James Smith, of Baltimore, Philemon B. Hopper, attorney at law, Centreville, to Miss Margaret Ann, eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Thomas, late of Queen Ann's county. EG 09-21-1822

276. *HOPPER, THOMAS W.—HADDAWAY, LUCRETTA D.* In this county on Thursday morning last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Doct. Thomas W. Hopper, of Queen Ann's county, to Miss Lucretia D. Haddaway, of this county. RSOESGA 09-29-1829

277. *HORNEY, JOHN A.—RIDGAWAY, DORATHA C.* On the 16th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Higgins,

Mr. John A. Horney to Miss Doratha C. Ridgaway, all of this county. EG 10-25-1823

278. *HUGHLETT, JOHN R.—KEMP, CLARA E.* On the 17th inst. at the P.E. Church, Trappe, by Rev. G. S. Fitzbugh, John R. Hughlett to Miss Clara E., eldest daughter of R. H. Kemp, Esq., all of this county. TES 01-30-1877

279. *HUNT, LEVIN D.—FAIRBANKS, MARGARETT*. On Tuesday last, by Rev. Daniel Weedon, Levin D. Hunt to Margaret Fairbanks; all of this county. ESS 03-07-1843

280. *HUNT, SUTTON D.—BROMWELL, SUSAN*. In Broad Creek Neck, on the 31st ult., by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. Sutton D. Hunt, to Miss Susan Bromwell, both of this county. ES 12-26-1843

281. *HUTTON, RICHARD GRAHAM—ALLEN, FANNIE MEEKER*. At Trinity Chapel, New York, on Thursday, February 17th, by the Rev. O. Hutton, of Easton, Md., the Rev. Richard Graham Hutton to Fannie Meeker, daughter of the late Judge Allen, of Georgia. TES 02-22-1870

282. *JACKSON, WILLIAM—DOUGLASS, MARGARET*. Married, on Wednesday the 28th inst. by the Rev. Dr. Kemp, Doctor William Jackson to Miss Margaret Douglass, all of Dorchester county. TPM 12-08-1810

283. *JAMES, MATTHEW—PLUMMER, CAROLINE*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Matthew James, to Caroline Plummer, all of this county. ESS 03-07-1843

284. *JAMES, WILLIAM—BROWN, ELIZABETH*. On Saturday last, by the Rev. James Smith, Mr. William James, to Miss Elizabeth Brown, all of this county. EG&ESI 02-02-1822

285. *JEFFERSON, NOAH—BALL, MARY ANN*. In this county on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. Noah Jefferson, to Mary Ann Ball, all of this county. ESS 08-10-1841

286. *JENKINS, JOHN H[ENRY]—HARDEN, SUSAN E[LIZABETH]*. On the 7th inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, John H[enry] Jenkins to Susan E[lizabeth] Harden. ESS 02-14-1843

287. *JENKINS, THOMAS H.—MANN, ADELINE*. At New York, by the Rev. Mr. Nobles on Thursday May 11th, Mr. Thomas H. Jenkins of New Orleans, formerly of this Town, to Miss Adeline, daughter of Mr. George S. Mann, of that city. ES 05-23-1843

288. *JOHNSON, HENRY—MAXWELL, ELIZABETH*. Married, on Sunday se'night, by the Rev. Mr. Bowie, Capt. Henry Johnson, to Miss Elizabeth Maxwell, both of Talbot county. H&ESI 02-25-1800

289. *JOHNSTON, JOHN G.—PRICE, ARIANA FRISBY YOUNG*. On the 4th inst. at Evergreen, the seat of Greenbury Goldsborough, Esq., by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, John G. Johnston, Esq. of Baltimore, to Ariana Frisby Young, daughter of the Late Andrew Price, Esq. of the above city. EG 07-06-1822

290. JONES, NATHANIEL—ANDREWS, REBECCA. On Sunday last by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Capt. Nathaniel Jones to Miss Rebecca Andrews, all of this county. ESS 04-12-1842

291. JONES, THOMAS—DAIL, MARY. At White-Haven, in Dorchester county, on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. John Seward, Mr. Thomas Jones, eldest son of Col. John Jones, to Miss Mary, only daughter of James Dail, Esq. EG&ESI 01-24-1820

292. JONES, WRIGHTSON—SPARKS, MALLINDA J. At St. Michael's on the 12th inst., by E. R. Williams, Mr. Wrightson Jones to Miss MALLINDA J. Sparks, both of Bayside. ESS 01-24-1843

293. JUMP, JOHN—MARTINDALE, [ELIZABETH]. On Saturday evening last by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. John Jump to Miss [Elizabeth] Martindale, both of this Town. EG&ESI 05-05-1821

294. JUMP, JOHN B.—LITILE, MRS. LAURA V. In Trappe, on the 2nd inst., by Rev. Wm. C. Maloy, John B. Jump and Mrs. Laura V. Litile, all of Talbot county. TES 07-09-1872

295. JUMP, JOHN J.—SHANNAHAN, SUSIE E. At the M.E. Church, in Easton, on the 11th inst., by Rev. Dr. W. Kenney, John J. Jump and Miss Susie E., daughter of Samuel E. Shannahan, Esq., both of this Town. TES 05-17-1870

296. KEENARD, SAMUEL T.—CLEMENT, MARY F. In Andover, Mass., on the 9th inst., at the residence of the bride's mother, by the Rev. Charles Smith, Mr. Samuel T. Keenard, of Easton, Md., to Miss Mary F., daughter of the late Moses Clement. TES 06-28-1870

297. KEENE, GEORGE—KEENE, EMMELINE. In Dorchester county, on Tuesday evening 13th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. George Keene, to Miss Emmeline Keene, daughter of John Keene. EG 05-24-1823

298. KEENE, RICHARD—SHANAHAN, ANN. On the 3d instant, Mr. Richard Keene, to Miss Ann Shanahan, both of this county. RSOESGA 04-16-1811

299. KEENER, JOHN C.—SPENCER, MARY ANN. On the 19th May last, at Hanburg, Alabama, John C. Keener, of Baltimore, to Miss Mary Ann Spencer, daughter of Richard Spencer, formerly of Maryland. ESS 06-21-1842

300. KELLEY, JAMES—DILLEN, SARAH [P.]. On Monday last, at the residence of Mr. Wm. Lucas, In Wye, by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. James Kelley, to Miss Sarah [P.] Dillen, both of Queen Ann's. ESS 10-05-1841

301. KEMP, BENJAMIN—BARTON, MRS. ELIZABETH. On Sunday last, by the Rev. James Thomas, Mr. Benjamin Kemp, to Mrs. Elizabeth Barton, of this Town. RSOESGA 06-12-1827

302. KEMP, JOHN, SR.—LAMBDIN, SUSAN. In this county on Thursday 23d ult., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. John Kemp, sr., to Miss Susan Lambdin. ESS 01-04-1842

303. KEMP, JOHN W.—CAULK, SARAH H. On Tuesday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. John W. Kemp, to Miss Sarah H. Caulk, all of this county. EG 12-03-1836

304. KEMP, JOSEPH—RIDGAWAY, ALICE. On the 15th inst., Capt. Joseph Kemp to Miss Alice Ridgaway, both of this county. RSOESGA 12-20-1814

305. KEMP, JOSEPH—FRAZIER, LUCRETIA. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Higgins, Mr. Joseph Kemp, to Miss Lucretia Frazier, all of this county. EG 02-21-1824

306. KEMP, SAMUEL T[ROTH]—YARNALL, SUSAN. In Queen Ann's county, on Tuesday 30th ult., at the residence of Mr. Joseph George, by the Rev. Mr. Bishop, Dr. Samuel T[roth] Kemp to Miss Susan Yarnall—both of this place. EG&ESI 12-06-1819

307. KEMP, SAMUEL T[ROTH]—HARDCASTLE, ELIZABETH. On Monday last by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Dr. Samuel T[roth] Kemp to Miss Elizabeth Hardcastle, all of this county. EG 11-17-1827

308. KEMP, WILLIAM—GRIFFIN, ELIZA ANN. On Tuesday evening last, in this town by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Kemp to Miss Eliza Ann Griffin. RSOESGA 04-05-1825

309. KEMP, WILLIAM—LONG, MRS. NAN[CY]. On Saturday last, by the Rev. James Thomas, Mr. William Kemp to Mrs. Nan[cy] Long, all of this county. RSOESGA 06-12-1827

310. KEMP, WILLIAM—HARRISON, ANN. On Wednesday 23d, by Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. William Kemp to Miss Ann Harrison, all of this county. EG 01-02-1841

311. KEMP, WILLIAM P[INKNEY]—HADDAWAY, ELIZA K[ERSEY]. On the 29th Dec'r. by E. R. Williams, Mr. William P[inkney] Kemp to Miss Eliza K[ersey] Haddaway. ESS 01-10-1843

312. KERSEY, WILLIAM—SHERWOOD, LYDIA. In this town on Wednesday evening last, by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. William Kersey to Miss Lydia Sherwood. EG 06-25-1825

313. KEY, FRANCIS S[COTT]—HARWOOD, ELIZABETH LLOYD. On Wednesday evening, by the Rev. Shane, Mr. Francis S[cott] Key, of the U.S. Navy, to Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, daughter of Henry Hall Harwood, of Annapolis. RSOESGA 04-11-1826

314. KIBBY, LOUIS H.—JEFFERSON, ELLA G. On the 8th inst., by Rev. J. A. Brindle, Louis H. Kibby and Miss Ella G. Jefferson. TES 02-15-1870

315. KILLMAN, DANIEL J.—DAWSON, SARAH F. By the Rev. W. B. Walton, at the Parsonage, St. Michaels, Dan'l J. Killman and Sarah F. Dawson. TES 01-14-1873

316. KINNAMAN, ROBERT G.—SLACUM, MRS. MARGARET J. On the 22d ult., by the Rev. James A. Brindle, Robert G. Kinnaman and Mrs. Margaret J. Slacum. TES 03-01-1870

317. *KIRBY, ELSBURY—MARSHALL, RUTH ANN*. On the 30th ult., by the Rev. J. Bell, Mr. Elsbury Kirby, to Miss Ruth Ann Marshall. ESS 11-16-1841

318. *KIRBY, FRISBY—COOPER, MARTHA J[ANE]*. On Thursday the 13th by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. Frisby Kirby, of Talbot county, to Miss Martha J[ane] Cooper, of Queen Ann's. ESS 01-18-1842

319. *KIRBY, LAMBERT—JEFFERSON, MRS. SARAH*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Lambert Kirby, to Mrs. Sarah Jefferson, both of this county. ES 12-12-1843

320. *KRAMER, SAMUEL—SHANE, MATILDA*. In Baltimore, on the 21st ult., by Rev. Dr. Bryan, assisted by Rev. G. W. Copper, Rev. Samuel Kramer and Miss Matilda, daughter of late Rev. Joseph Shane, all of Baltimore. TES 03-01-1870

321. *LAMBDIN, JAMES M.—BANNING, ANN EMILY*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. James M. Lambdin, to Miss Ann Emily, eldest daughter of Freburn Banning, Esq., all of this county. EG 02-19-1825

322. *LAMBDIN, ROBERT—[Mc]FARLAND, CAROLINE M.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Robert Lambdin, of Wm., to Miss Caroline M. [Mc]Farland, daughter of Capt. Joseph [Mc]Farland, all of this county. RSOESGA 06-22-1819

323. *LAMBDIN, WILLIAM K.—SKINNER, MRS. MARY ANN*. On Sunday morning last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Wm. K. Lambdin, Esq., to Mrs. Mary Ann Skinner, all of this county. EG 01-23-1836

324. *LAMBDIN, WILLIAM S.—BRUFF, MARY AMANDA*. On Tuesday evening the 28th December, by the Rev. Mr. Dorgan, Mr. William S. Lambdin of Dorchester county, to Miss Mary Amanda, eldest daughter of Mr. John Bruff, of this county. RSOESGA 01-11-1825

325. *LANE, RICHARD C.—HARDIN, SALLIE A.* At Royal Oak, on the 24th ult., by the Rev. E. F. Dashiell, Richard C. Lane, of Baltimore city, to Miss Sallie A. Hardin, of Talbot county. TES 03-01-1870

326. *LARRIMORE, JAMES S.—CRYER, FRANCES*. On the 26th of December, by Rev. Daniel Weeden, James S. Larrimore to Frances Cryer, both of Bayside. ES 01-23-1844

327. *LARRIMORE, ROBERT T.—HADDAY, CLEMENTINA L.* On the 19 ult., by Rev. Jno. D. Long, Robert T. Larrimore to Miss Clementina L. Haddaway, of Bayside District. ES 01-02-1855

328. *LAWRENCE, RICHARD—DAWSON, MARY*. On the 23d inst. by the Rev. Levi Storks, Mr. Richard Lawrence of Baltimore to Miss Mary Dawson of this county. EG 12-29-1832

329. *LAYTON, NICOLS—WARNER, MRS. SOPHIA*. On Friday morning last, by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Nicols Layton, to Mrs. Sophia Warner, all of this Town. EG 02-09-1822

330. *LEAMAN, C[HAMBERS] A.—HARD-CASTLE, SUSANNAH*. On Tuesday evening, at the residence of Mr. R. Dawson, by the Rev. Mr. Bishop, Mr. C[hambers] A. Leaman, of Baltimore, to Miss Susannah Hardcastle of Talbot county, Md. EG 12-11-1824

331. *LECOMPTE, SAMUEL DEXTER—ANDERSON, CAMILLA*. On Wednesday last, at Todd's Point, Dorchester county, by the Rev. Mr. Quigley, Samuel Dexter Lecompte, Esq., of Westminster, Carroll county, to Miss Camilla Anderson. ESS 05-04-1841

332. *Le COMPTE, STEPHEN—DIXON, ANN J.* On Tuesday evening last by the Rev. Samuel Rawleigh, Mr. Stephen Le Compte, to Miss Ann J. Dixon, both of Dorchester county. EG&ESI 12-22-1821

333. *LEDDENHAM, THOMAS—LED-DENHAM, ELEANOR F.* On Thursday evening the 11th inst. by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Thomas Leddenham, to Miss Eleanor F. Leddenham, all of this county. EG 04-13-1822

334. *LEDENHAM, SHADRICK—BLADES, MARY E.* On the 19th instant, by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. Shadrick Ledenham to Miss Mary E. Blades, both of Bay Side. ES 12-26-1843

335. *LEDNUM, JAMES [M.]—AUSTIN, RACHEL ANN*. On Sunday evening by the Rev. M. Hazel, James [M.] Lednum, to Rachel Ann Austin, all of Easton. ESS 05-11-1841

336. *LEDNUM, OLIVER M.—HADDAWAY, SARAH J.* At McDanielstown, on Sunday, Aug. 26th, by Rev. A. P. Boude, Mr. Oliver M. Lednum and Miss Sarah J. Haddaway, all of this county. TES 09-04-1883

337. *LEIGH, GEORGE S.—KERR, SOPHIA LEEDS*. At Easton on Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, George S. Leigh, Esq. of St. Mary's county, to Miss Sophia Leeds, eldest daughter of John Leeds Kerr, Esq. EG 04-19-1823

338. *LEONARD, JAMES—WARNER, MRS. ANNIS*. On Thursday last by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. James Leonard to Mrs. Annis Warner, all of this county. EG 03-23-1822

339. *LEONARD, JOHN H.—MARSHALL, EMILY L.* On the 20th inst. by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. John H. Leonard, to Miss Emily L. Marshall, both of Bay Side. ES 12-26-1843

340. *LEONARD, JONATHAN—DELEHAY, MARY E[LIZABETH]*. On Thursday the 27th ult. by Revd. Mr. Spry, Mr. Jonathan Leonard to Miss Mary E[lizabeth] Delehay. ESS 06-01-1841

341. *LEONARD, JOSEPH—FURGUSON, MRS. MARY*. On Saturday the 10th inst., by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Joseph Leonard to Mrs. Mary Furguson, all of this county. EG&ESI 02-17-1821

342. *LEONARD, WOOLMAN—DENNY, MARY*. On Tuesday evening the 16th inst. by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Woolman Leonard to Miss Mary Denny, all of this county. EG&ESI 05-20-1820

343. *LINGENFELTER, JOHN J.—BARNICLO, LOUISA*. In Baltimore on the 22d ult., by the Rev. Mr. Goheen, Mr. John J. Lingenfelter, of Baltimore, to Miss Louisa Barniclo, of Easton, Md. ESS 05-02-1843

344. *LITTLER, CHARLES WILLIAM—THORNBURGH, HESTER*. On Tuesday 17th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, Charles William Littler, Esq. of Virginia, to Hester, youngest daughter of George Thornburgh, Esq. of Baltimore. EG 12-28-1822

345. *LITTLETON, LABAN—MATTHEWS, REBECCA*. On Thursday evening the 7th inst. by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Laban Littleton to Miss Rebecca Matthews, both of this county. EG&ESI 06-09-1821

346. *LLOYD, EDWARD, JR.—McBLAIR, ALECIA*. On Tuesday evening last, in the city of Baltimore, by the Rev. Dr. Glendy, Edward Lloyd, jr., Esq. of this county, to Miss Alecia, eldest daughter of Michael McBlair, Esq. of that city. RSOESGA 12-07-1824

347. *LLOYD, MONTGOMERY—KEMP, HENRIETTA T[ROTH]*. On the 6th inst., by Rev. Jno. F. Chaplain, Montgomery Lloyd and Miss Henrietta T[roth], daughter of Dr. Samuel T[roth] Kemp, all of this county. ES 12-12-1854

348. *LOCKERMAN, JACOB—HARRISON, MARY*. On Sunday last, in Dorchester county, Jacob Lockerman, Esq. of this Town, to Miss Mary Harrison, of that county. RSOESGA 10-12-1802

349. *LOVE, JAMES—DRAPER, SYDNEY*. On Thursday the 13th by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. James Love to Miss Sydney Draper. ESS 01-18-1842

350. *LOVEDAY, JOHN H.—PEARSON, ANN*. On Thursday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John H. Loveday to Miss Ann Pearson, both of this Town. EG&ESI 11-24-1821

351. *LOWE, WILLIAM L.—SKINNER, CAROLINE F*. On Saturday the 28th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Williams, Mr. William L. Lowe, of Baltimore, to Miss Caroline F. Skinner, of this county. ESS 06-14-1842

352. *LOWNDES, CHARLES—LLOYD, SARAH S*. On Thursday evening last, at Wye House, by the Rev. Mr. Hotchkiss, Lieutenant Charles Lowndes, of the U.S. Navy, to Miss Sarah S[cott], daughter of the Hon. Edward Lloyd. RSOESGA 05-09-1826

353. *LUCAS, EDWARD—ORRELL, SARAH*. On Tuesday evening last by Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Edward Lucas to Miss Sarah Orrell, both of this Town. EG&ESI 10-13-1821

354. *McCULLOH, CHAUNCEY F.—WARD, ALICE R*. On the 6th instant, at the residence of the officiating clergyman, in Baltimore, by Rev. Edward McKinsie, Chauncey F. McCulloh, of Cumberland, and Miss Alice R. Ward, of Baltimore.

We congratulate the happy pair upon the consummation of this long expected bliss—only the more joyful from having been deferred. Starting out in their journey through life together in young

manhood and womanhood, we hope for them many years of wedded life, during which they may enjoy all and more that Sir Thomas Moore meant when he wrote—

“As half through shade and half through sun
This world along its path advances,
May that side the sun’s upon
Be all that e’er shall meet your glances.”

TES 08-23-1870

355. *McDANIEL, CHARLES—WOOTERS, LOUISA*. On the 4th inst., by the Rev. Jesse Thompson, Mr. Charles McDaniel, to Miss Louisa Wooters, both of this county. ESS 11-16-1841

356. *McDANIEL, JAMES—HOPKINS, MRS. ELIZABETH*. In this Town on Tuesday the 1st inst. by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. James McDaniel to Mrs. Elizabeth Hopkins. EG&ESI 05-05-1821

357. *McDANIEL, JOHN WESLEY S.—WRIGHTSON, ANN*. On Thursday, Nov. 2d, by the Rev. Mr. Kurtz, Mr. John Wesley S. McDaniel to Miss Ann Wrightson, both of this county. ES 11-07-1843

358. *McLEAN, GEORGE W.—ECCLESTON, HENRIETTA MARIA*. At Cambridge, Md., on Wednesday, 10th inst., by the Rev. J. A. McKenney, George W. McLean, of Baltimore, to Henrietta M[aria], youngest daughter of the late James Eccleston of Dorchester county. ESS 11-16-1841

359. *MACKEY, ALEXANDER H.—HEMSLEY, MARTHA*. On Wednesday, 17th inst., by the Rev. Dr. Mason, Alexander H. Mackey, Merchant, to Miss Martha Hemsley, all of this Town. ESS 11-23-1841

360. *MADDUX, HENRY—TURPINE, ANN*. On Tuesday evening 30th ultimo, by the Rev. Lawrence Lawrenson, Mr. Henry Maddux to Miss Ann Turpine, all of Somerset county. EG 10-11-1823

361. *MALOY, W. C.—HOPKINS, MAGGIE A*. At the M.E. Church, South, Easton, on the 15th inst., by Rev. S. V. Blake, of the Baltimore Annual Conference, Rev. W. C. Maloy to Maggie A., youngest daughter of S. B. Hopkins, Sr., and niece of the officiating clergyman. TES 03-22-1870

362. *MARKLAND, JAMES H.—MATTHEWS, MARY E*. On the 28th ult., by the Rev. Dr. Roberts, Mr. James H. Markland to Miss Mary E. Matthews, all of Baltimore city. ESS 09-13-1842

363. *MARSHALL, GREENBURY—FAIR-BANKS, CLEMENTINE*. On the 12th ult., by the Rev. J. Bell, Capt. Greenbury Marshall to Miss Clementine Fairbanks. ESS 11-16-1841

364. *MARSHALL, HUGH—PRICE, MARY E*. On the 11th, by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. Hugh Marshall to Miss Mary E. Price, all of this county. ESS 01-25-1842

365. *MARSHALL, JAMES—KIRBY, SARAH ANN*. In this county a few days since, by Rev. M. Hazel, James Marshall to Sarah Ann Kirby. ESS 01-17-1843

366. *MARSHALL, NOAH—CUMMINGS, MARY ANN*. On the 24th of October, by Rev. D.

Weeden, Noah Marshall to Miss Mary Ann Cummings, all of Bayside. ES 11-28-1843

367. *MARTIN, DANIEL—MACCUBBIN, MARY C.* On Tuesday last, in Annapolis, by the Rev. Mr. Ryland, Maj. Daniel Martin, of this county, to Miss Mary C. Maccubbin of the former city. RSOESGA 02-13-1816

368. *MARTIN, EDWARD—THOMAS, MARGARET.* On Sunday evening the 22d ult., Mr. Edward Martin to Miss Margaret Thomas, both of this county. RSOESGA 04-07-1807

369. *MARTIN, EDWARD—THOMAS, LUCRETIA.* On Tuesday evening last, Mr. Edward Martin, to Miss Lucretia Thomas, both of this county. RSOESGA 06-05-1812

370. *MARTIN, EDWARD—THOMAS, ELIZA M.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Thomas Bayne, Edward Martin, Esq. to Miss Eliza M., daughter of Dr. Tristram Thomas, all of this county. EG 06-10-1826

371. *MARTIN, ENNALLS, JR.—NABB, MARY.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. James Thomas, Mr. Ennalls Martin, jun. to Miss Mary Nabb, daughter of the late John Nabb, Esq., all of this county. RSOESGA 11-26-1816

372. *MARTIN, GEORGE T.—WHITELEY, MARY ANN.* On Tuesday 12th inst. at Newark, in the State of Delaware, by the Rev. Mr. Russell, Dr. George T. Martin of Denton, to Miss Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Arthur Whiteley, and granddaughter of the celebrated Capt. Kirkwood of the Revolutionary Army. EG 02-16-1829

373. *MARTIN, JAMES—BALDWIN, MARY.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Markland, Mr. James Martin to Miss Mary Baldwin, all of this Town. RSOESGA 12-25-1810

374. *MARTIN, JAMES—BULLEN, ANN MARIA.* On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Jas. Stokes, Mr. James Martin, to Miss Ann Maria Bullen, both of this county. RSOESGA 01-28-1817

375. *MARTIN, JAMES LLOYD—THOMAS, ELLEN [F.].* In this town on Saturday morning, 16th inst. by the Rev. Dr. Mason, James Lloyd Martin, to Ellen [F.], youngest daughter of Doct. Tristram Thomas. ES 12-26-1843

376. *MARTIN, JOHN H. T.—TINDLE, ANN MARIA.* In Baltimore on the 7th inst., by the Rev. Dr. Roberts, John H. T. Martin, of Dorchester county, to Miss Ann Maria Tindle, of that city. ES 01-16-1844

377. *MARTIN, JOHN S.—MARTIN, ELIZA JANE.* On Thursday the 10th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. John S. Martin to Miss Eliza Jane Martin, all of this county. EG 11-19-1825

378. *MARTIN, THOMAS—RUTH, ELIZABETH.* On Thursday the 25th instant, by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Thomas Martin to Miss Elizabeth Ruth, both of this county. EG&ESI 10-27-1821

379. *MARTIN, THOMAS—HAYWARD, MARGARET S.* On Tuesday the 4th inst. at Locust

Grove, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. Thomas Martin, to Margaret S., daughter of Thomas Hayward, Esq. RSOESGA 07-28-1829

380. *MARTIN, THOMAS, JR.—DICKINSON, [SUSANA] LURANAH.* On Tuesday evening, the 9th instant, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. Thomas Martin, Jr. to Miss [Susana] Luranah Dickinson, all of this county. EG 09-27-1823

381. *MARTIN, WILLIAM—DARDEN, REBECCA.* On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. St. Redman, Mr. William Martin to Miss Rebecca Darden, both of this county. RSOESGA 01-28-1817

382. *MASON, JAMES—MILLINGTON, ELIZABETH H.* On Sunday evening last, the 7th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Jump, Mr. James Mason to Miss Elizabeth H. Millington, all of this county. EG 04-13-1822

383. *MATTHEW[S], ARGOILIS H.—DAVIS, ANN.* On Wednesday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. Argoilis H. Matthew[s] to Miss Ann Davis, both of Talbot county. ESS 03-21-1843

384. *MATTHEWS, JOHN W.—PINKIND, ANN.* In this county a few days since, by Rev. M. Hazel, John W. Matthews to Miss Ann Pinkind. ES 12-05-1843

385. *MAYPOLE, TOBIAS—JONES, SARAH ANN.* On the 9th inst., Tobias Maypole to Sarah Ann Jones, all of Bayside. ES 09-19-1843

386. *MECONEKIN, THOMAS—JONES, SUSAN.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Thomas Meconekin to Miss Susan Jones, all of this town. EG&ESI 07-22-1820

387. *MELOY, WILLIAM—SMITH, ANN.* On Thursday the 21st inst. by the Rev. Mr. Jackson, Mr. William Meloy to Miss Ann Smith, both of Queen Ann's county. EG&ESI 06-30-1821

388. *MEREDITH, JOHN—TROTH, SALLY.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. McCluskey, Mr. John Meredith, Merchant, to Miss Sally Troth, both of this Town. RSOESGA 12-10-1805

389. *MEREDITH, THOMAS—CHANCE, SARAH ANN.* On the 11th inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, Thomas Meredith to Sarah Ann Chance, both of this county. ES 01-16-1844

390. *MERRICK, ERNEST B.—HADDAWAY, ROSA.* In Louisville at M.E. Church, South, by the Rev. Jas. W. Bigham, Ernest B. Merrick, of Talbot county, to Miss Rosa, eldest daughter of C[harles] W[illiam] Haddaway, Esq., of Louisville, Kentucky. TES 12-02-1884

391. *MERRICK, SOLOMON—KEMP, ANN.* On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Solomon Merrick to Miss Ann Kemp, all of this county. RSOESGA 06-14-1825

392. *MERRICK, THOMAS—BARNECLO, MARGARET.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Thomas Merrick to Miss Margaret Barnecllo, all of this county. EG 06-08-1822

393. *MERRYMAN, RICHARD S.—BROWN, MARY L.* On the 24th ult., at Emanuel Church Bal-

timore, by Rev. A. M. Randolph, Richard S. Mer-
ryman, of Baltimore county, and Mary L., daughter
of Thomas R. Brown, of Kent county. TES 03-29-
1870

394. *MIDDLETON, JOHN P.—GANNON, SUSAN ELLEN.* On Thursday last by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. John P. Middleton to Miss Susan Ellen Gannon, all of this county. ESS 11-01-1842

395. *MILBOURN, JOSHUA—DODD, ANN.* On Thursday evening the 18th inst. by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. Joshua Milbourn of Queen Ann's county, to Miss Ann Dodd of this county. EG&ESI 05-20-1820

396. *MILLIS, LEVIN—COOPER, MARY.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Levin Millis, to Miss Mary Cooper, all of this county. EG 06-15-1822

397. *MONTELL, JAMES E.—COWARD, MARY G.* On Tuesday 29th ult., by Rev. Dr. Mason, James E. Montell, Esq. of Baltimore, to Miss Mary G. Coward, daughter of Capt. Thos. Coward of Oxford Neck. ESS 12-06-1842

398. *MOORE, SAMUEL E.—VANCE, ELIZABETH ANN H. D.* On Thursday the 14th ult. in Salisbury, by the Rev. Mr. Stone, Mr. Samuel E. Moore, of Somerset county; to Miss Elizabeth Ann H. D. Vance, of Worchester county.

The lady tho' contented and happy before
Had added to her happiness by getting Moore.
EG 03-16-1822

399. *MOORE, WILLIAM W.—STOCKLY, HARRIET J.* At Friends Meeting, on third day last, the 17th of this month, Wm. W. Moore of this Town, to Harriet J. Stockly of Camden, Delaware. EG&ESI 08-23-1819

400. *MULLIKIN, JESSE—BROWN, LYDIA.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Jesse Mullikin to Miss Lydia Brown, all of this county. EG&ESI 01-05-1822

401. *MULLIKIN, SOLOMON, JR.—JENKINS, MARY E.* On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Solomon Mullikin, jr., to Mary E. Jenkins, all of this county. ESS 07-19-1842

402. *MULLIKIN, WILLIAM—BROWN, MRS. MARY.* On Thursday evening 4th inst. by the Rev. Lott Warfield, Mr. William Mullikin of Caroline county to Mrs. Mary Brown of Talbot county EG&ESI 10-06-1821

403. *MULLIKIN, WILLIAM N.—JENKINS, MARY JANE.* In this Town on Wednesday morning last, at 6 o'clock, by the Rev. James Nicols, Mr. William N. Mullikin, Merchant, to Miss Mary Jane Jenkins. ESS 04-20-1841

404. *MURDOCK, ROBERT B.—SPENCER, LYDIA.* At Columbus, Ga., on the 15th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Carnes, Robert B. Murdock, Esq., to Miss Lydia, second daughter of Mrs. Anna Spencer, of that city. ESS 06-28-1842

405. *MURRY, A. J.—WALKER, REBECCA ANN.* On Thursday evening last, in Hillsboro' Caroline county, by the Rev. Jesse Thompson, Mr. A. J.

Murry to Miss Rebecca Ann Walker, both of Hillsborough. ESS 05-10-1842

406. *NEALL, JOSEPH K.—JENKINSON, ELIZA.* On Thursday the 22d inst., at Friends Meeting House, Joseph K. Neall to Eliza Jenkinson, both of this Town. EG&ESI 11-24-1821

407. *NEEDLES, EDWARD—TROTH, ELIZABETH.* At Friends' Meeting House, near Easton, on Thursday the 18th instant, Edward Needles, to Elizabeth Troth, of this Town. RSOESGA 04-23-1811

408. *NEEDLES, JOSEPH A.—HAMBLETON, DEBORAH M.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Joseph A. Needles of Philadelphia, to Miss Deborah M. Hambleton of this county. EG&ESI 12-28-1818

409. *NEEDLES, WILLIAM—YARNELL, SARAH.* At Friends Meeting, near this Town, on 4th day last, William Needles, of this Town, to Sarah Yarnell, of this county. RSOESGA 05-29-1810

410. *NEVILE, SAMUEL—RAWLINGS, MRS. ELIZABETH.* On Thursday the 9th instant, by the Rev. Mr. Martinadale, Mr. Samuel Nevile to Mrs. Elizabeth Rawlings, both of Centreville. EG&ESI 12-13-1819

411. *NEWCOMB, HENRY—COUNCELL, ELEANOR.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Moynihan, Mr. Henry Newcomb, to Miss Eleanor, daughter of Mr. John Councill, all of this county. EG 01-11-1823

412. *NEWNAM, ALEXANDER B.—WRIGHT, MARY E.* In this county, on the 23d instant, by Rev. Charles Hill, Alexander B. Newnam to Miss Mary E. Wright, all of this county. TEG 11-27-1858

413. *NEWNAM, GEORGE N.—THOMPSON, MARY.* On Tuesday evening the 9th inst., at Wilmer's Range, in Queen Ann's county, by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. George N. Newnam to Miss Mary Thompson. RSOESGA 11-23-1819

414. *NEWNAM, JAMES M.—JENKINS, ELIZABETH W.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. James M. Newnam, to Miss Elizabeth W. Jenkins, both of Talbot county. EG 12-13-1834

415. *NEWNAM, JOHN B.—CLARK, ANN.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John B. Newnam to Miss Ann Clark, all of this county. EG 08-02-1828

416. *NEWNAM, JOSEPH—BRUFF, LYDIA.* On Thursday afternoon, by the Rev. Mr. Humphriss, Mr. Joseph Newnam to Miss Lydia Bruff, both of this county. EG 01-24-1835

417. *NEWNAM, JOSEPH—BARTLETT, HENRIETTA.* On Thursday the 6th inst. by the Rev. William Spry, Mr. Joseph Newnam to Miss Henrietta Bartlett, all of this county. EG 05-08-1841

418. *NEWNAM, JOSEPH—COX, ANN MARIA.* In Hopkins' Neck, on the 21st inst., by Rev. W. Roby, Joseph Newnam and Miss Ann Maria Cox, all of this county. ES 06-26-1855

419. *NEWNAM, JOSEPH—HUNT, MRS. MARY*. At the residence of Mr. B. F. Harrison, Oxford, Jan. 7, by Rev. T. E. Bell, Mr. Joseph Newnam and Mrs. Mary Hunt. TES 01-13-1880

420. *NEWNAM, JOSEPH H.—PARSONS, MARY E.* In Oxford, on the 7th of January, by the Rev. Mr. Chatham, Joseph H. Newnam to Miss Mary E. Parsons, both of Talbot county. TEG 01-23-1869

421. *NEWNAM, NICHOLAS B.—PICKERING, MARY*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Nicholas B. Newnam to Miss Mary Pickering, all of this county. EG 02-04-1826

422. *NEWNAM, SKINNER—JAMES, MARY*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Skinner Newnam, to Miss Mary James, both of this county. RSOESGA 01-09-1821

423. *NEWNAM, W[ILLIAM] H.—WRIGHT, [MRS.] ANNIE H. [née DeFORD]*. On the 18th ult., at Emanuel Church, Baltimore, by Rev. Mr. Randolph, W[illiam] H. Newnam, of Queen Anne' co., and Miss Annie H. [née DeFord] Wright, of Baltimore city. TES 07-08-1873

424. *NEWNAM, WILLIAM HENRY—HARRISON, MARGARETTA*. In Queen Ann's, on the 21st ult., Wm. Henry Newnam and Miss Margarett Harrison. ES 01-02-1855

425. *NICHOLS, JAMES K.—HANSON, MRS. HARRIET MATILDA*. In Kent county, on the 6th inst. by the Rev. Isaac Webster, the Rev. Jas. K. Nichols, of the Maryland Annual Conference of the M.P. Church, to Mrs. Harriet Matilda Hanson, of Kent county. ESS 07-20-1841

426. *NICHOLSON, ALBERT G.—FINLEY, ELIZA O'DONNELL*. In Baltimore, on Christmas night, by the Rev. G. W. Musgrave, Albert G. Nicholson, Esq., formerly of this county, to Miss Eliza O'Donnell Finley, eldest daughter of the late Col. E. L. Finley, of that city. ESS 01-04-1842

427. *NICHOLSON, EDWARD LLOYD—HARWOOD, MARGARET*. On Saturday evening last, at Mount Pleasant, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Edward Lloyd Nicholson, of Talbot county, to Miss Margaret, eldest daughter of Gen. Richard Harwood of Thos. of Annapolis. EG 06-14-1823

428. *NICOLLS, JOSEPH—RUSSUM, MARGARET*. On Thursday last, Doctor Joseph Nicolls, to Miss Margaret Russum, daughter of Mr. Mitchell Russum, all of Dorchester county. RSOESGA 04-16-1811

429. *NICOLS, [ROBERT] LLOYD—GULLEY, SUSAN*. On Wednesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. [Robert] Lloyd Nicols, to Miss Susan Gulley, all of this county. RSOESGA 12-22-1818

430. *NICOLS, HENRY—HOLLYDAY, SARAH*. By the Rev. Dr. Kemp, on Thursday last, Henry Nicols, Esq. of Baltimore, to Miss Sarah Hollyday, of this county. RSOESGA 05-26-1812

431. *NORRIS, JOHN—McNEAL, ANNA MARIA*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr.

Scull, Mr. John Norris to Miss Anna Maria McNeal, all of this county. EG 11-08-1823

432. *NORTH, JOHN—McNAMAR, MARIA*. In Baltimore on the 8th inst., by the Rev. Job Guest, John North, to Miss Maria McNamar, both of Dorchester county. ES 01-16-1844

433. *ORNE, AUGUSTUS G.—BENJAMIN, CAROLINE*. On the 5th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Augustus G. Orne to Caroline Benjamin, all of Talbot county. ESS 07-06-1841

434. *OXENHAM, ANDREW O.—BARTLETT, ELIZABETH ANN*. In this county, on Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Andrew O. Oxenham to Elizabeth Ann Bartlett, all of this county. ESS 04-18-1843

435. *OZMON, JOHN—PICKERING, ANN MARIA*. On the 16th, by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Mr. John Ozmon to Miss Ann Maria Pickering, all of this place. ESS 09-21-1841

436. *PALMER, JOHN—WOOLLEY, CATHARINE [A.]*. On the 3d inst. by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. John Palmer, of Queen Ann's county to Miss Catharine [A.] Woolley, of this county. EG 02-08-1823

437. *PARKER, SEVERN E.—PURNELL, CATHARINE*. At Snow Hill, Md. on Wednesday 26th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Judah, Severn E. Parker, Esq. of Northampton county, Va., to Miss Catharine Purnell, of the former place. EG 07-27-1822

438. *PARKS, GEORGE T.—HADDAWAY, AMELIA F.* On the 10th inst., at the M. E. Parsonage, St. Michaels, by Rev. W. B. Walton, George T. Parks to Miss Amelia F. Haddaway. TES 03-23-1875

439. *PARROTT, JOSEPH—LYTTLETON, ELIZA D.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Warfield, Mr. Joseph Parrott, of Easton, to Miss Eliza D. Lyttleton, of Easton Point. EG&ESI 01-18-1819

440. *PARROTT, THOMAS—BENNEY, SUSAN ANN*. On the 24th inst., by the Rev. Jesse Thompson, Mr. Thomas Parrott, to Miss Susan Ann Benney of this county. ESS 05-31-1842

441. *PARROTT, WILLIAM H.—LARRIMORE, FRANCES E.* In this county on the 19th inst., by Rev. John Henry, Wm. H. Parrott to Frances E. Larrimore. ESS 01-24-1843

442. *PATTERSON, SAMUEL—SHERWOOD, PEGGY*. On Sunday last, Mr. Samuel Patterson, of Easton, to Miss Peggy Sherwood, of Talbot county. RSOESGA 02-21-1804

443. *PATISON, WILLIAM—ECCLESTON, MRS. HENRIETTA [née MARTIN]*. In Cambridge by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. William Patison, to Mrs. Henrietta Eccleston, daughter of the Honorable William B. Martin. EG 03-31-1827

444. *PERRY, WILLIAM A.—DOBSON, ANN MARIA*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Wm. A. Perry to Ann Maria Dobson, both of this county. ES 01-16-1844

445. *PETRE—HARVEY, MRS.* [*née CATON*]. Lady Harvey, formerly Miss Caton, of Baltimore, and relict of Col. Harvey, aid de camp to the Duke of Wellington, to Lord Petre, nephew of the Duke of Norfolk. EG 05-24-1823

446. *PHILLIPS*, [*not legible*]*—HADDAWAY, SARAH E.* October 20th, by Rev. J. Hough _____, _____ Phillips and Miss Sarah E. Haddaway, both of this county. TEG 11-05-1870

447. *PHILLIPS, WILLIAM P.—WELLS, ELLEN S.* On the 17th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. Wm. P. Phillips to Miss Ellen S. Wells, all of this county. ESS 02-22-1842

448. *PICKERING, SAMUEL—APPLEGARTH, ELIZA.* On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Samuel Pickering, of the city of Baltimore, to Miss Eliza Applegarth, of this Town. EG&ESI 04-15-1820

449. *PIERSON, THOMAS—BARNETT, ROSANNA.* On Thursday last by the Rev. Mr. Pierson, Mr. Thomas Pierson to Miss Rosanna Barnett, both of this county. ESS 06-08-1841

450. *PINKIND, MICHAEL—PLUMMER, HENRIETTA.* On Thursday evening 4th inst., by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Michael Pinkind to Miss Henrietta Plummer, all of this county. EG&ESI 10-06-1821

451. *PLATER, JOHN R., [JR.]—EDMONDSON, MATILDA.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. John R. Plater, [Jr.] of St. Mary's county, to Miss Matilda Edmondson of this Town. EG 05-11-1822

452. *PLUMMER, JOHN F.—WILSON, RUTH A.* On Thursday evening, 24th inst., by Rev. Thos. Sewell, jr., Mr. John F. Plummer, of Easton, Md., to Miss Ruth A. Wilson of Baltimore county. ESS 07-06-1841

453. *PLUMMER, WILLIAM—PRATT, ANN.* On the 11th, by the Rev. Jesse Thompson, Mr. William Plummer to Miss Ann Pratt, both of this county. ESS 01-25-1842

454. *PORTER, EDWARD—MARSHALL, CATHERINE E.* On the 20th inst., by the Rev. Danl. Weeden, Edward Porter to Catherine E. Marshall, all of this county. ES 12-26-1843

455. *PORTER, JOHN WESLEY—BLAKE, MARY ANN.* On the 13th inst. by the Rev. Manlove Hazel, Mr. John Wesley Porter to Mary Ann Blake all of this county. ESS 04-20-1841

456. *PORTER, WOOLMAN—HOXTER, SALLY.* On Tuesday evening last by Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Woolman Porter to Miss Sally Hoxter, all of this county. EG&ESI 11-10-1821

457. *POSLETHWAIT, ROBERT—WILSON, MARY.* In Caroline county, on Wednesday, 15th, by the Rev. James Nichols, Mr. Robert Poslethwait to Miss Mary Wilson. ESS 12-28-1841

458. *PRETTYMAN, HENRY—MAFFIT, ADELINE.* On the 25 ult., by the Rev. Jas. Nicols, Mr.

Henry Prettyman, of Talbot, to Miss Adeline Maffit, of Caroline county. ESS 10-04-1842

459. *PRICE, EZEKIEL—NEWNAM, MARY.* On Tuesday last, by the Rev. A. Jump, Mr. Ezekiel Price to Miss Mary Newnam, both of Caroline county. RSOESGA 01-24-1826

460. *PRICE, JOHN, JR.—WILSON, ANN MARIA.* On Tuesday 17th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John Price, Jr. of Queen Ann's county, to the amiable Miss Ann Maria, eldest daughter of Mrs. Martha Wilson of this county. EG&ESI 04-21-1821

461. *PRICE, MORDECAI—STEVENS, FRANCES [ANN].* On Thursday last, by the Rev. Dr. Crane, Mr. Mordecai Price to Miss Frances [Ann] Stevens, both of Queen Ann's county. ESS 12-07-1841

462. *PRICE, THOMAS BENNY—CHEEZUM, MARY FRANCES.* At the M.E. Parsonage in Easton, on the 15th inst., by Rev. E. B. Newnam, Thomas Benny Price to Miss Mary Frances Cheezum, both of this county. TES 05-20-1873

463. *PRICE, THOMAS R.—COBURN, ELIZABETH ELLEN.* On the 12th of March, by the Rev. Mr. Appleby, Thomas R. Price, to Miss Elizabeth Ellen Coburn, both of the Trappe. ES 04-09-1844

464. *PRICE, WILLIAM—CARROLL, SUSAN.* On Thursday by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. William Price to Miss Susan Carroll, all of this county. EG 02-23-1822

465. *PRITCHETT, RICHARD—CATRUP, ANGELINA.* On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. Richard Pritchett to Miss Angelina Catrup, all of Talbot county. ESS 07-05-1842

466. *PRITCHETT, SAMUEL [H.]—WILLOUGHBY, MARY JANE.* By Rev. Mr. Bell, on Sunday 29th inst., Samuel [H.] Pritchett to Mary Jane Willoughby. ESS 09-07-1841

467. *PRITCHETT, WILLIAM A.—HUBBARD, ELIZA JANE.* On the 30 ult., by the Rev. J. Hazard, Mr. Wm. A. Pritchett to Miss Eliza Jane, eldest daughter of Mr. Lemuel Hubbard, all of Caroline county. ES 02-06-1844

468. *QUIMBY, WILLIAM—TARBUTTON, ELLIE R.* At the residence of the bride's father, on the 25th ult., by Rev. Wm. Hammond, Mr. William Quimby to Miss Ellie R. Tarbutton, all of Talbot county. TES 02-08-1870

469. *RANDALL, THOMAS B. W.—SKINNER, MARY ELIZABETH.* On Tuesday, 11th of May, by the Rev. J. Bell, Thomas B. W. Randall, of Baltimore county, to Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Wm. C. Skinner, Esq., Ferry Neck, Talbot county, Md. ESS 05-18-1841

470. *RAWLEIGH, STEPHEN—HUFFINGTON, MRS. ELIZABETH.* At Vienna, on Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Samuel Rawleigh, Mr. Stephen Rawleigh, to Mrs. Elizabeth Huffington, all of Dorchester county. EG 03-30-1822

471. *REESE, JACOB—FLEHARTY,*

FRANCES. On the 25th inst., by the Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Jacob Reese of Caroline county, to Miss Frances Fleharty of Talbot. ES 08-01-1843

472. *RETALLACK, JOHN B*[APTISTE]—*HADDAWAY, ANN D*[AWSON]. In Baltimore, on the 4th inst., by Rev. W. D. Edwards, John B[aptiste] Retallack and Miss Ann D[awson] Haddaway, both of this county. TES 08-17-1880

473. *RHODES, CHARLES L.*—*HADDAWAY, MRS. ARIAN*[N]A. On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Charles L. Rhodes to Mrs. Arian[n]a Haddaway, all of this county. EG 06-30-1827

474. *RICHARDSON, DANIEL P.*—*MEDCALF, CATHARINE*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Williams, Mr. Daniel P. Richardson, of Caroline county, to Miss Catharine Medcalf, of this county. EG&ESI 01-18-1819

475. *RICHARDSON, JOSEPH*—*MARTIN, ELIZABETH N.*J. On Tuesday evening last by the Rev. James Monihan, Joseph Richardson, Esq. of Caroline county, to Miss Eliza[beth N.] daughter of George Martin, Esq. of this Town. EG&ESI 06-02-1821

476. *RICHARDSON, PHILIP HENRY*—*HEMSLEY, HENRIETTA LLOYD*. From the residence of Captain Sirrelle, in Baltimore, Philip Henry Richardson, of Montreal, Canada East, to Henrietta Lloyd, third daughter of the late Dr. Hemsley of Easton, Talbot co., Md. TES 04-25-1871

477. *RIDOUT, JOHN*—*SETH, ANNA R.* On Thursday evening last at Mr. John L. Tilghman's Bennetts-Point by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Mr. John Ridout, of Horace, of Queen-Anns county, to Miss Anna R. Seth, daughter of the late Dr. Wm. E. Seth of this county. RSOESGA 01-01-1822

478. *RIGBY, JAMES P.*—*RIGBY, ELIZABETH*. In this county on the 19th inst., by the Rev. Danl. Weeden, James P. Rigby to Elizabeth Rigby. ES 03-26-1844

479. *RINGGOLD, WILLIAM*—*RINGGOLD, MARY R.* On the 28th ult. by the Rev. James Smith, Mr. William Ringgold to Miss Mary R. Ringgold, all of Queen Ann's county. EG 02-08-1823

480. *ROBERTS, EDWARD*—*TILGHMAN, MOLLY*. On Thursday evening last, Edward Roberts, Esq. to Miss Molly Tilghman, both of this county. RSOESGA 09-14-1802

481. *ROBINSON, DAVID*—*LOWREY, MARGARET S.* On Thursday morning last by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Capt. David Robinson of Baltimore, formerly of this county, to Miss Margaret S. Lowrey of this county. EG&ESI 10-06-1821

482. *ROBINSON, W. J. H.*—*WRIGHTSON, S. LINIE*. On the 21st ult., by Rev. J. L. Shipley, at Royal Oak M.E. Church, South, W. J. H. Robinson to Miss S. Linie Wrightson, both of Talbot county. TES 01-02-1872

483. *ROBINSON, THOMAS*—*SETH, [ELIZABETH]*. On Sunday evening last, Mr. Thomas Robinson, to Miss Betsy Seth, both of this county. RSOESGA 11-09-1802

484. *ROBINSON, THOMAS*—*PEARSON, MARGARET*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Thomas Robinson to Miss Margaret Pearson, all of this county. EG 08-09-1823

485. *ROBINSON, THOMAS K.*—*TOWNSEND, ANN CATHARINE*. At Royal Oak on the 15th inst., Mr. Thos. K. Robinson to Miss Ann Catharine Townsend. ESS 12-20-1842

486. *ROBSON, SAMUEL*—*KEENE, CHARLOTTE*. In Dorchester county on Thursday evening the 8th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Judd, Mr. Samuel Robson, to Miss Charlotte Keene, daughter of Benjamin Keene. EG 05-24-1823

487. *ROBSON, WILLIAM OLIVER*—*RIGGS, ELLEN*. On August 4th, at Glens Falls, New York, by Rev. Thomas Riggs, Wm. Oliver Robson, Esq., assistant Editor of the New Haven Palladium, and Miss Ellen Riggs, only daughter of the officiating Minister. TES 08-30-1870

488. *ROCHESTER, FRANCIS A.*—*DOWNES, MRS. ELIZA*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Francis A. Rochester, of Queen Ann's county, to Mrs. Eliza Downes of this county. EG&ESI 03-01-1819

489. *RODGERS, JOHN*—*KERR, MRS. MARIA*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Thomas Bayne, Dr. John Rodgers of this county, to Mrs. Maria Kerr of this Town. EG 02-09-1822

490. *ROE, EDWARD*—*GREGORY, ANN*. On the 4th inst. by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Edward Roe, of Queen Ann's county, to Miss Ann Gregory, of this county. EG 02-08-1823

491. *ROSS, WILLIAM*—*HADDAWAY, LYDIA*. On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Ross to Miss Lydia Haddaway, all of this county. EG 04-08-1826

492. *ROSS, WILLIAM*—*CARTER, ALEXINE*. On the 14th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Kinney, Mr. Wm. Ross, of Cambridge, to Miss Alexine, daughter of Thos. Carter, Esq., of Caroline county. ES 12-26-1843

493. *ROWLENSON, JOHN H.*—*BOSLEY, MARY ELIZABETH*. In Centreville on Tuesday last, by Rev. Mr. Allen, John H. Rowlenon of the "Centreville Times", to Miss Elizabeth Bosley of Centreville. ES 10-10-1843

494. *RUMBLY, SHADRACH*—*FRAMPTON, HENRIETTA*. In this county on Thursday last, by the Rev. John Henry, Mr. Shadrach Rumbly, to Henrietta Frampton. ESS 03-07-1843

495. *RUSS, CLEMENT*—*EWING, MRS. JANE*. On Tuesday the 25th ult. by the Revd. Mr. Spry, Mr. Clement Russ to Mrs. Jane Ewing. ESS 06-01-1841

496. *RUSSUM, JOSEPH*—*SHEHAN, EMILINE*. On the 12th inst., Joseph Russum to Emeline Shehan, all of this county. ESS 01-17-1843

497. *RUTH, JOHN*—*BROWN, REBECCA*. On Sunday evening last, by the Rev'd Mr. Wilmor, John Ruth, Esq. of Caroline county, to Miss Rebecca Brown, of Kent county, Maryland. RSOESGA 06-28-1808.

498. *RUTH, JOHN—LOVEDAY, ANN G.* On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John Ruth, of Caroline county, to Miss Ann G. Loveday, daughter of Mr. Thomas S. Loveday, of this Town. RSOESGA 06-06-1820

499. *RUTH, JOHN—HARRISON, MARY E.* On Yesterday, the 20th, by the Rev. Mr. Spry, Rev. John Ruth, of the Philadelphia Annual Conference, to Miss Mary E. Harrison, of Talbot county. ESS 12-21-1841

500. *SATTERFIELD, JOHN—BULLEN, MARY ANN.* On Tuesday night last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. John Satterfield to Miss Mary Ann Bullen, all of this Town. ESS 10-18-1842.

501. *SCOTT, OTHO—GRASON, ELIZABETH.* In Queen Ann's county, on Sunday 1st May, by Rev. Mr. Brown, Otho Scott, Esq., State Senator from Harford county, to Miss Elizabeth, daughter of ex Governor Grason, of Queen Anne's county. ESS 05-09-1843

502. *SCRIVENOR, HORALIO—HARRIS, MARGARET.* On Thursday, 28th ult. by the Rev. Burton Carman, Mr. Horalio Scrivenor to Miss Margaret Harris. RSOESGA 10-03-1809

503. *SEARS, JOHN K.—LAMBDIN, MARY E.* On the 28th ult., at Emanuel Church, Baltimore, by Rev. Mr. Randolph, John K. Sears, of Baltimore, to Mary E., only daughter of the late Major Wm. K. Lamdin, of Talbot county. TES 05-10-1870

504. *SEARS, JOHN L.—AULD, ARRIANNA AMANDA.* In Baltimore, on Wednesday the 6th inst., by the Rev. Dr. Roberts, of that city, Mr. John L. Sears to Miss Arrianna Amanda Auld, all of Talbot county. ES 12-19-1843

505. *SETH, ALEXANDER H[AMILTON]—HADDAWAY, MARTHA ANN.* On the 25th inst. by the Rev. Mr. B. Price, Mr. Alexander H[amilton] Seth to Miss Martha Ann Haddaway, all of Talbot county. EG 09-29-1838

506. *SETH, JAMES—LAMBDIN, SALLY.* On Sunday evening, Mr. James Seth to Miss Sally Lambdin, both of this county. RSOESGA 09-21-1802

507. *SETH, JAMES—ALLFORD, MARY.* On Sunday, the 22d instant, by the Rev. Mr. Hardesty, Mr. James Seth, to Miss Mary Allford, both of Caroline county. RSOESGA 12-01-1812

508. *SETH, JAMES—OREM, SYDNEY MARIA.* On the 29th ult., at the residence of the bride's mother, near St. Michaels, by Rev. Thos. E. Bell, Dr. James Seth to Sydney Maria, eldest daughter of the late Nicholas Orem, Esq. TES 04-12-1870

509. *SETH, JAMES—OREM, JULIA T[AYLOR].* In St. Michaels, Jan. 1st, by Rev. W. B. Walton, Dr. Jas. Seth to Miss Julia T[taylor] Orem. TES 01-13-1874

510. *SETH, JAMES M.—FARLAND, LOUISA.* On Tuesday the 30th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. James M. Seth to Miss Louisa Farland, both of Talbot county. EG 01-03-1835

511. *SETH, JOHN—ABBOTT, ELIZABETH [T.].* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Capt. John Seth to Miss Elizabeth [T.] Abbott. RSOESGA 05-03-1814

512. *SETH, WILLIAM F.—MARTIN, SUSAN.* On Tuesday last, Dr. William F. Seth, to Miss Susan Martin, both of this county. RSOESGA 05-22-1810

513. *SEWELL, JOHN—HADDAWAY, SARAH T.* In this county, on the 6th inst., by Rev. Mr. O'Neil, John Sewell and Miss Sarah T. Haddaway, all of this county. TEG 09-20-1862

514. *SEWELL, SAMUEL—SKINNER, MRS. CHANEA D.* On Tuesday the 23d inst. by the Rev. Mr. Rawley, Mr. Samuel Sewell, of Dorchester county, to Mrs. Chanea D. Skinner, of this county. RSOESGA 11-30-1819

515. *SEYMOUR, JOHN—COBURN, AMANDA.* On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. John Seymour to Miss Amanda Coburn, all of this county. ESS 06-08-1841

516. *SEYMOUR, MATTHIAS M.—SEYMOUR, SALLIE E.* On the 4th inst., by Rev. D. Evans Reese, D.D., Matthias M. Seymour to Sallie E. Seymour. TES 08-09-1870

517. *SHANAHAN, JAMES—BERRY, ELIZA.* In this Town on Saturday evening the 5th instant, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. James Shanahan to Miss Eliza Berry, both of this county. EG&ESI 02-07-1820

518. *SHANAHAN, JESSE E.—CATRUP, JANE.* On Tuesday evening last by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. Jesse E. Shanahan to Miss Jane Catrup, all of this county. EG 07-01-1837

519. *SHANNAHAN, SAMUEL E.—DAWSON, REBECCA A.* In Caroline county, on Wednesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. Samuel E. Shannahan to Miss Rebecca A. Dawson, both of Caroline county. ESS 09-07-1841

520. *SHANNAHAN, WILLIAM [E.]—WEYMAN, ELIZABETH.* On Sunday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William [E.] Shannahan to Miss Elizabeth Weyman. EG 04-14-1827

521. *SHARP, JOHN A.—CHILCUTT, MRS. MARY.* On Thursday last at Georgetown X Roads, by the Rev. Wesley Pierson, John A. Sharp of Queen Ann's county, to Mrs. Mary Chilcutt of Talbot county. ES 02-06-1844

522. *SHEHAN, EDMUND—NEWNAM, ANN.* On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. James Thomas, Mr. Edmund Shehan to Miss Ann Newnam, all of this county. RSOESGA 04-04-1826

523. *SHERWOOD, CHARLES H.—MELONY, ANN.* On the 21st inst., by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. Charles H. Sherwood to Miss Ann Melony, both of this county. ES 12-26-1843

524. *SHERWOOD, JOHN W.—ASKEW, ELIZABETH.* On the 8th inst. at Friends Meeting, Wilmington, John W. Sherwood, of this Town, to Elizabeth Askew, of Brandywine, Del. RSOESGA 12-27-1814

525. *SHORES, BALLARD—LARRIMORE, MARY ANN*. On the 12th inst., by Rev. Daniel Weeden, Ballard Shores to Miss Mary Ann Larriamore, all of this county. ES 08-15-1843

526. *SKINNER, ANDREW—HARRISON, ELIZABETH*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Joseph Jackson, Andrew Skinner, Esq. to Miss Elizabeth Harrison, both of this county. RSOESGA 05-03-1803

527. *SKINNER, WILLIAM C.—WATTS, MARY D.* On Tuesday last, 21st inst., by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William C. Skinner, to the amiable Miss Mary D. Watts, both of this county. EG&ESI 12-27-1819

528. *SKINNER, WILLIAM J.—KIRBY, HESTER ANN*. In Baltimore, on the 2d by the Rev. Mr. Smith, Captain Wm. J. Skinner of Queen Ann's county, to Miss Hester Ann, only daughter of the late Charles Kirby, of Talbot county, Md. ESS 11-16-1841

529. *SLAUGHTER, SAMUEL M.—HADDAWAY, EMMA V.* In Baltimore, on the 21st ult., by Rev. John W. Hodges, Samuel M. Slaughter and Miss Emma V. Haddaway, both of Talbot county. TES 04-04-1871

530. *SLAUGHTER, WILLIAM—DUDLEY, ANN*. On Tuesday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. William Slaughter to Miss Ann Dudley, both of this county. EG&ESI 11-03-1821

531. *SLAUGHTER, WILLIAM H.—WILLIAMSON, ANNIE E.* At the residence of the bride's father, near Skipton, on the 8th instant, by Rev. Mr. Slaughter, Wm. H. Slaughter to Miss Annie E. Williamson, all of this county. TES 03-15-1870

532. *SMALL, JOHN—SUMMERS, MARGARET JANE*. On the 25th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, John Small to Margaret Jane Summers all of this county. ESS 11-30-1841

533. *SMALL, JOHN—STOKER, MARY ELLEN*. On the 4th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Appleby, John Small to Miss Mary Ellen Stoker, both of Trappe. ES 04-09-1844

534. *SMITH, ALEXANDER H.—LLOYD, SUSAN C.* On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. Alexander H. Smith to Miss Susan C. Lloyd, all of this county. ESS 03-01-1842

535. *SMITH, JAMES I.—WRIGHTSON, JOSAPHINE B.* In St. Michaels, on the 29th ult., by Rev. James A. Brindle, Dr. James I. Smith, of Frederick, and Miss Josaphine B. Wrightson, of St. Michaels. TES 01-18-1870

536. *SMITH, THOMAS—LOWE, HESTER*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Thomas Smith to Miss Hester Lowe, all of this county. EG 11-22-1823

537. *SMYTH, JAMES H.—SATTERFIELD, SUSAN A.* In this Town on Saturday morning last, by the Rev. Dr. Mason, Mr. James H. Smyth to Miss Susan A., daughter of Smal. S. Satterfield. ESS 11-15-1842

538. *SPARKS, JOHN C.—LUCAS, FRANCES A.* In this Town, on the 2d inst., by the Rev. B. Appleby, John C. Sparks to Frances A. Lucas, both of Queen Annes. ES 01-09-1844

539. *SPEDDIN, EDWARD—SHERWOOD, ELIZABETH T.* On Thursday evening, the 7th inst. by the Rev. Mr. John Forman, Doct. Edward Speddin, to Miss Elizabeth T. Sherwood, daughter of Maj. H. Sherwood of Huntingdon, both of this county. RSOESGA 11-12-1816

540. *SPENCER, RICHARD—BAKER, ANNA*. In Baltimore, on the 19th inst. by the Rev. Nelson Reed, Richard Spencer, Esq., of Easton, Md., to Miss Anna, daughter of the late Wm. Baker, of this city. EG&ESI 10-25-1819

541. *SPENCER, RICHARD P.—YOUNGE, LAURA J.* At Columbus, Georgia, on the 8th inst., Richard P. Spencer, formerly of this county, to Miss Laura J., eldest daughter of Mr. Wm. P. Youge. ESS 02-28-1843

542. *STARKEY, EDWARD—PRICE, ANN*. On Thursday 18th inst. by the Revd. Dr. Crane, Mr. Edward Starkey to Miss Ann Price, all of Queen Ann's county. ESS 06-29-1841

543. *STARKEY, WILLIAM—Le COMPTE, ELIZABETH*. In Dorchester county, on Tuesday, 15th inst., Mr. William Starkey, of Cambridge, to Miss Elizabeth Le Compte, of the county aforesaid. EG&ESI 01-19-1822

544. *STEELE, HENRY M.—KEY, MARIA LLOYD*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Dr. David, Henry M. Steele, Esq. of Dorchester county, to Miss Maria Lloyd, second daughter of Francis S[cott] Key, Esq. of the District of Columbia. RSOESGA 06-10-1823

545. *STEELE, JAMES B.—GALE, MILCAH*. On Thursday the 15th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Stratton, James B. Steele, Esq., to Miss Milcah, the second daughter of the late General John Gale, of Somerset county. EG&ESI 04-26-1819

546. *STEVENS, EDWIN J.—ECCLESTON, SARAH HOOPER*. On Tuesday the 14th inst., by the Rev. Jas. A. McKenney, Edwin J. Stevens, Esq., of Talbot, to Miss Sarah Hooper, youngest daughter of the Hon. Thos. J. H. Eccleston, of Dorchester county. ES 11-21-1843

547. *STEVENS, GEORGE—CHAPLAIN, ANN*. On Tuesday last by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Mr. George Stevens to Miss Ann Chaplain, both of this county. EG&ESI 02-14-1820

548. *STEVENS, JOHN, JR.—MARTIN, MARY*. Of Thursday last, Mr. John Stevens, junr. of this Town, to Miss Mary Martin, daughter of Mr. Tristram Martin, of this county. RSOESGA 03-03-1807

549. *STEVENS, JOHN G.—HARRIS, JULIANNA*. On Tuesday last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John G. Stevens to Miss Julianna Harris, all of this Town. EG 08-09-1823

550. *STEVENS, PERRY G.—RUMBOLD, ELIZABETH*. On the 15th inst., at Mansion Hall, Caro-

line county, by the Rev. Mr. Connelly, Mr. Perry G. Stevens to Miss Elizabeth Rumbold, daughter of James B. Rumbold, Esq.

We acknowledge the reception of a piece of cake with the above notice. ES 02-20-1844

551. *STEVENS, PETER, JR.—JENKINS, JULIAN[NA]*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. W. Williams, Mr. Peter Stevens, Jr., Merchant, to Miss Julian[na], daughter of Mr. William Jenkins, Merchant, all of this Town. EG&ESI 04-12-1819

552. *STEWART, WILLIAM THOMAS—DAWSON, E. L.* At the residence of Mrs. Mettee, in St. Michaels, on the 1st inst., by Rev. E. F. Dashiell, William Thomas Stewart to Miss E. L. Dawson, all of this county. No cards. TES 06-06-1871

553. *STICHBERRY, ROBINSON—GRIFFITH, MRS. ELIZABETH*. On the 22d inst., by the Rev. E. R. Williams, Mr. Robinson Stichberry to Mrs. Elizabeth Griffith. ESS 12-27-1842

554. *STONE, MATTHEW K.—ASKEW, ANN*. On the 20th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Baer, Mr. Matthew K. Stone, Printer, to Miss Ann Askew, both of Baltimore. EG&ESI 02-28-1820

555. *STONE, WILLIAM M.—SAVAGE, ANN*. Married, on Thursday, 23d March, by the Rev. Simon Wilmer, of New Jersey, the Rev. William M. Stone to Miss Ann Savage, both of Somerset county, Maryland. TPM 04-01-1809

556. *STORY, WILLIAM [H.]—DAWSON, [ARIANNA]*. In this county on Tuesday last, William [H.] Story, Esq. of Queen Anns, to Miss Ara Ann Dawson, of Talbot county. EG 03-15-1834

557. *SULLIVAN, JOSHUA—REESE, MARY A.* On the 13th inst., at the Parsonage of the M.E. Church, in Easton, by Rev. W. Kenny, D.D., Joshua Sullivan to Mary A., daughter of John Reese, Esq., of Lewistown. TES 01-18-1870

558. *SWAN, ISSAC—TRUITT, MARY [ELIZABETH]*. On Tuesday the 7th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. Issac Swan to Miss Mary [Elizabeth] Truitt, all of this county. ESS 12-28-1841

559. *SWIGGETT, HENRY—SHANAHAN, DEBORAH B.* On Thursday last, at Friends' meeting, Henry Swiggett, of Caroline county, to Deborah B. Shanahan, of this county. RSOESGA 11-23-1813

560. *SYLVESTER, THOMAS—COLLISON, LYDIA*. On Tuesday the 22d inst. by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Thomas Sylvester to Miss Lydia Collison, both of this county. EG&ESI 05-26-1821

561. *TARR, PETER—HOPKINS, MARGARET*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Wooley, Mr. Peter Tarr to Miss Margaret Hopkins, all of this county. EG 08-03-1822

562. *TARR, WILLIAM—MARSHALL, PAMELIA ANN*. On Monday last, by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. Wm. Tarr to Miss Pamela Ann Marshall, all of this county. ESS 06-15-1841

563. *TAYLOR, GEORGE E.—JORDAN, MARY ANN*. On the 8th inst., at St. Vincent de Paul

Church, by the Rev. Mr. Shricher, Mr. George E. Taylor, Printer, to Miss Mary Ann, daughter of Mr. Charles Jordan, Merchant, both of Baltimore city. ES 06-27-1843

564. *TENNANT, EDWARD—DENNY, SOPHIA B.* On Tuesday the 5th inst. by Rev. Joseph Spencer, Mr. Edward Tennant to Miss Sophia B., youngest daughter of the late Benjamin Denny, jr. ESS 04-20-1841

565. *THOMAS, ELISHA—BURNS, ELIZA*. On Thursday the 15th inst. in the town of St. Michaels, Talbot county, by the Revd. Mr. Bell, Capt. Elisha Thomas to Miss Eliza Burns, both of said county. ESS 07-27-1841

566. *THOMAS, FRANCIS—MCDOWELL, SALLY*. On Tuesday evening the 8th instant, at Colralta, Lexington, Va., by the Rev. John Skinner, the Hon. Francis Thomas, of Maryland, to Miss Sally, daughter of Jas. McDowell, of Virginia. ESS 06-22-1841

567. *THOMAS, ISAAC—STEVENS, MARGARET*. On Thursday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Warfield, Mr. Isaac Thomas of Milford, Del., to Miss Margaret Stevens, of this county. EG&ESI 12-06-1819

568. *THOMAS, JOHN G.—DIMOND, MARY E.* On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. John G. Thomas of this county, to Miss Mary E. Dimond of Queen Ann's county. EG&ESI 12-01-1821

569. *THOMAS, NICHOLAS—GOLDSBOROUGH, JANE*. On Tuesday evening the 8th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Nicholas Thomas, Esq. to Miss Jane, daughter of James Goldsborough, Esq. all of this county. EG&ESI 01-12-1822

570. *THOMPSON, ANTHONY C.—DAWSON, MRS. SUSAN*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Dr. Anthony C. Thompson, of Cambridge, Dorchester county, to Mrs. Susan Dawson, of this county. EG 04-26-1834

571. *THOMPSON, WILLIAM—SMITH, MARY EMILY*. On Tuesday the 9th inst., by the Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Wm. Thompson to Mary Emily Smith, both of this county. ES 01-16-1844

572. *TIBBLES, HENRY J.—KIRBY, MARY-ANN*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Higgins, Mr. Henry J. Tibbles to Miss Maryann Kirby, all of this Town. EG 08-23-1823

573. *TILGHMAN, CHARLES [C.]—TILGHMAN, MARY [LLOYD]*. On Tuesday last, at Wye Hall, by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Charles [C.] Tilghman, Esq., son of Chief Justice Tilghman, late of Maryland, to Miss Mary [Lloyd] Tilghman, all of Queen Anns county. EG&ESI 12-02-1820

574. *TILGHMAN, JAMES—WALLER, MARTHA*. On Sunday evening last, Mr. James Tilghman, to Miss Martha Waller, both of this Town. RSOESGA 10-09-1804

575. *TILGHMAN, JOHN—TILGHMAN, MISS*. On Thursday last, in Queen Ann's county, Mr. John Tilghman, of Centreville, to Miss _____

_____. Tilghman, daughter of Richard Tilghman, 4th, deceased. RSOESGA 12-02-1806

576. *TILGHMAN, LLOYD—BOYD, AUGUSTA MURRAY*. In Portland, Maine, on the 1st inst., Lloyd Tilghman, Esq., of Baltimore, to Augusta Murray Boyd. ES 08-15-1843

577. *TILGHMAN, ROBERT LLOYD—FOREMAN, HENRIETTA M.* On Thursday evening the 16th inst. Mr. Robert Lloyd Tilghman to Miss Henrietta M. Foreman, both of this county. RSOESGA 04-28-1807

578. *TILGHMAN, TENCH—TILGHMAN, [ANN] MARGARET*. On Thursday last, Mr. Tench Tilghman, to the accomplished Miss [Ann] Margaret Tilghman, daughter of Mrs. A. M. Tilghman, of Oxford Neck, all of this county. RSOESGA 04-07-1807

579. *TODD, GEORGE [W.]—FLOYD, MARYLAND*. In Easton on Thursday night last, by the Rev. Mr. Appleby, Mr. George [W.] Todd, to Maryland Floyd, both of this county. ES 12-26-1843

580. *TOMLINSON, BENNETT—VICKARS, ANN*. In this Town, on Monday the 7th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Bennett Tomlinson to Miss Ann, daughter of Capt. Clement Vickars, all of this county. EG&ESI 01-12-1822

581. *TOMLINSON, JOHN—QUALITY, ELIZABETH C.* On Tuesday evening the 12th inst. by the Rev. William Clark, Mr. John Tomlinson, to Miss Elizabeth C. Quality, all of this county. EG&ESI 06-16-1821

582. *TOWNSEND, HENRY—COX, ELIZABETH*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Dergin, Mr. Henry Townsend to Miss Elizabeth Cox, all of this county. EG&ESI 12-22-1821

583. *TOWNSEND, WILLIAM—BENSON, ANNA MARIA*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Higgins, Mr. William Townsend to Miss Anna Maria Benson, all of this county. EG 06-28-1823

584. *TRIPPE, EDWARD T.—BOWIE, CATHARINE D.* At Oakland, on Tuesday the 30th ult., by the Rev. Levin J. Gillis, Mr. Edward T. Trippe, of Talbot county, to Miss Catharine D. Bowie, of Montgomery, formerly of this county. ESS 12-14-1841

585. *TRIPPE, WILLIAM R.—MARTIN, LAVINIA*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Wm. R. Trippe to Miss Lavinia Martin, all of this county. EG 12-22-1827

586. *TROTH, JAMES—BALL, MRS. C.* On Sunday last, Mr. James Troth to Mrs. C. Ball, both of this Town. RSOESGA 09-07-1803

587. *TROY, HENRY—W[HIARTON], [SUSAN] ANN*. In this county on Thursday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Henry Troy to [Susan] Ann W[h]arton, all of this county. ESS 04-04-1843

588. *TUCHER, JOHN, JR.—SEYMORE, ELIZABETH*. On the 16th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Higgins, Mr. John Tucker, Jr. to Miss Elizabeth Seymore, all of this county. EG 10-25-1823

589. *TURBUTT, GREENBURY G.—COOKE, SUSAN L.* On Thursday, the 11th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Bayne, Greenbury G. Turbutt, Esq., to Miss Susan L. Cooke, both of this county. EG&ESI 02-15-1819

590. *TURNER, JOSEPH—LOVEDAY, MARGARET*. On Tuesday evening last, by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Joseph Turner, to Miss Margaret Loveday, both of this county. EG&ESI 07-28-1821

591. *TYLER, JONATHAN—WILLSON, ELIZA H.* On Thursday, 22d inst. at the 'Friends' Meeting House, Jonathan Tyler, of Baltimore, to Eliza H. Willson, of this county. ESS 04-27-1841

592. *VANDERFORD, JOHN—AUSTIN, SALLY ANN*. On Tuesday last, by the Rev. M. Hazel, Mr. John Vanderford to Miss Sally Ann Austin, all of this county. ESS 09-27-1842

593. *VERNON, ALFRED G.—LANE, MARTHA L.* At Royal Oak, on the 20th inst., by Rev. E. F. Dashiell, Alfred G. Vernon, of Wilmington, Del., to Martha L. Lane, of Royal Oak, Md. TES 01-25-1870

594. *WALES, JOHN—COCKEY, ARENA*. On the 16th inst., by Rev. John Valiant, John Wales to Arena Cockey, both of this county. ES 01-30-1844

595. *WARD, SAMUEL—MACKEY, ELLEN*. On Thursday morning last, by the Rev. Mr. Scull, Mr. Samuel Ward to Miss Ellen Mackey, all of this county. EG 03-16-1822

596. *WARNER, JOHN W.—HARRIS, [MARGARET] ANN*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. John W. Warner to Miss [Margaret] Ann Harris, all of this county. ESS 04-12-1842

597. *WARNER, WILLIAM M.—WEBB, SUSAN*. On Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Lott Warfield, William M. Warner to Miss Susan Webb, both of this Town. EG&ESI 04-28-1821

598. *WASCHOB, JOSEPH—THOMPSON, REBECCA*. In Cambridge, on Saturday evening 5th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Clift, Mr. Joseph Waschob, to Miss Rebecca Thompson, of Philadelphia. EG&ESI 08-19-1820

599. *WATERS, RAMSEY—MARRIOTT, ANN*. At Annapolis, Ramsey Waters, Esq. Register in Chancery, to Miss Ann Marriott. EG 07-20-1822

600. *WEBB, RICHARD—PARROTT, ELIZABETH*. On the 7th inst., by the Rev. M. Hazel, Richard Webb to Elizabeth Parrott, all of this county. ESS 02-14-1843

601. *WEEDEN, JOHN H.—TOWNSON, MARY ANN*. On the 25th ult., by the Rev. Mr. Roby, Mr. John H. Weeden to Miss Mary Ann Townson, both of this county. ESS 02-01-1842

602. *WHITBY, JOHN—GAREY, MARY [ELLEN]*. On Thursday last, by the Rev. M. D. Kurtz, Mr. John Whitby to Miss Mary [Ellen] Garey. ES 01-16-1844

603. *WILLEY, CHARLES W.—SEWELL, SUSAN ANN*. On the 13th inst., by the Rev. Mr.

Bell, Charles W. Willey to Susan Ann Sewell, all of Talbot county. ESS 11-30-1841

604. *WILLIAMS, ISAAC—POLK, VIRGINIA D. I.* In Baltimore, on the 13th inst. by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Kemp, Isaac Williams, Esq. of Somerset county, to Miss Virginia D. I. Polk, of that city. EG 05-24-1823

605. *WILLIAMS, JACOB—SATTERFIELD, JENNIE M.* At the M.P. Church, on the 6th inst., by Rev. D. Evans Reese, D.D., Jacob Williams and Miss Jennie M. Satterfield, all of Easton. TES 01-11-1870

606. *WILLIAMS, JOSEPH—FLEMMING, ELIZABETH.* On Thursday evening 27th ult. by the Rev. Joseph Scull, Mr. Joseph Williams to Miss Elizabeth Fleming, all of this Town. EG 03-01-1823

607. *WILLIS, NICHOLAS—BOWDLE, SUSAN JANE.* On Tuesday last, Mr. Nicholas Willis to Miss Susan Jane Bowdle, all of Talbot county. ESS 05-16-1843

608. *WILLIS, WILLIAM B. R.—SHERWOOD, ELIZABETH T.* On Thursday evening, 13th inst. by the Rev. Mr. H. J. Keppler, Wm. B. R. Willis of Baltimore, to Miss Elizabeth T., eldest daughter of the late Thomas Sherwood, of Talbot county. ESS 05-25-1841

609. *WILLOUGHBY, RICHARD—WILLOUGHBY, MARIA.* In Caroline county on Thursday 3d inst. by the Rev. Solomon Kenton, Mr. Richard Willoughby age 90, to Miss Maria Willoughby, aged 20.

The tender vine around the ag'd oak clings
In wreaths of beauty, and oft protection brings;
'Tis so with woman, the youthful and the fair,
To bless old age with pure affection's care.
ESS 06-08-1841

610. *WILLSON, JACOB C.—SMITH, MARY C.* On Thursday, the 28th ult. by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Rawley, Mr. Jacob C. Willson of Caroline county, to Miss Mary C. Smith of Dorchester county. EG&ESI 10-07-1820

611. *WILLSON, JACOB C.—MILLECHAP, CLARA.* On the 30th of June, at Milford, Kent county, Del., by the Rev. Charles Karsner, Jacob C. Willson, Esq., of Talbot county, Md., to Miss Clara Millechap of the former place.

We cheerfully tender our sincere thanks to the happy pair for the delicious cake that accompanied the above notice. ESS 07-05-1842

612. *WILLSON, JOHN C[USH], JR.—TILGHMAN, ELIZA(BETH).* On Thursday evening last, Mr. John C[ush] Willson, jun. of Somerset county, to the amiable Miss Eliza[beth] Tilghman, daughter of Col. Peregrine Tilghman, of this county. RSOESGA 02-10-1807

613. *WILLSON, WILLIAM H.—KELLY, ELIZABETH A.* On Saturday last, by the Rev. Mr. Hazel, Mr. William H. Willson, of Caroline county, to Miss Elizabeth A. Kelly, of Talbot. ESS 05-24-1842

614. *WILMER, HENRY—HARRIS, MARGARET.* On Thursday the 22d ult. by the Rev.

Simon Wilmer, Mr. Henry Wilmer, to the amiable Miss Margaret Harris, both of Queen Ann's county. RSOESGA 02-03-1807

615. *WINCHESTER, JACOB—LOWE, AR- IANNA.* On Tuesday, the 13th inst. by Mr. Dorgan, Mr. Jacob Winchester of Kent-Island, to Miss Arianna Lowe, of the Bay side. RSOESGA 06-20-1809

616. *WINDER, EDWARD S.—LLOYD, ELIZABETH T.* At Wye House, on Thursday last by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, Edward S. Winder, Esq., of Somerset county, to Miss Elizabeth T. Lloyd, daughter of the Hon. Edward Lloyd, of this county. EG&ESI 06-03-1820

617. *WOOLFORD, S. B.—BROOKS, SARAH ANN.* In Baltimore on the 22nd inst., by the Rev. G. C. M. Roberts, Capt. S. B. Woolford to Sarah Ann Brooks, all of Dorchester county. ESS 04-05-1842

618. *WOOTERS, JAMES—STEWART, ELEANOR C.* In Easton on Thursday evening last, by the Rev. Mr. Appleby, Mr. James Wooters, of Centreville, to Miss Eleanor C. Stewart, formerly of this place. ES 06-06-1843

619. *WOOTERS, JOHN C.—HOLT, CATHARINE.* On Thursday the 9th inst. by the Revd. Jesse Thompson, Mr. John C. Wooters to Catharine Holt, all of this county. ESS 09-21-1841

620. *WOOTERS, JAMES—RINGGOLD, SELINA.* On Thursday evening, the 14th inst. at the residence of Mr. Richard C. Tilghman, Queen Ann's county, by the Rev. Mr. Wooly, Mr. James Wooters to Miss Selina Ringgold. EG&ESI 06-30-1821

621. *WORKS, JOHN—BECKWITH, JANE.* On Tuesday the 20th January, 1842, by the Rev. Mr. McNamee, Mr. John Works of Talbot county, to Miss Jane Beckwith of Dorchester county. ESS 02-08-1842

622. *WRIGHT, JOSEPH V. B.—KENNARD, E. AMELIA.* In Christ Church, in Easton, on the 3d inst., by Rev. O. Hutton, Joseph V. B. Wright and Miss E. Amelia Kennard, both of this Town. TES 02-15-1870

623. *WRIGHT, MARTIN LUTHER—WALL, MARY.* At Cambridge, on Tuesday 29th inst. by the Rev. Mr. Seward, Martin Luther Wright, Esq. of White Haven, Dorchester county, to Miss Mary Wall, of Cambridge. EG&ESI 02-02-1822

624. *WRIGHT, WILLIAM—WELCH, MARTHA ANN JANE.* On Thursday last, by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Mr. William Wright, to Marthan Ann Jane Welch, all of this county. ESS 08-10-1841

625. *WRIGHTSON, JAMES—AULD, SARAH.* At St. Michaels, on Thursday the 3d inst., by the Rev. John Dorjin, Mr. James Wrightson to Miss Sarah Auld, both of this county. EG&ESI 02-14-1820

626. *WYATT, JOSEPH N.—HARPER, FANNIE C.* On the 28th ult., at the Central M.E. Church, South, Baltimore, by the Rev. W. H. D. Harper, Joseph N. Wyatt and Miss Fannie C. Harper, both of Easton. TES 08-09-1870

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BOOK NOTES

Ancestral Roots of Sixty Colonists Who Came to New England Before 1623 and 1650. By Frederick Lewis Weis. Fifth Edition with Additions and Corrections by Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, Repr. 1985.) xxxviii, 186 pp. Indexed. \$15.00

Researchers interested in the overseas origins of colonial settlers will find this book extremely helpful. The introductory material, often skipped by genealogists, must be read in order to understand the changes found in this edition. There is a surname index. There are over 260 lines giving the royal, feudal, and imperial ancestors of these sixty colonists, and in each line, the references are given so that individuals working on a given line can check for additional information. Since the fifth edition first appeared in 1976, the reviewer hopes that a sixth edition will soon be forthcoming. The book is highly recommended.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall, Md.

Index to the 1820 Census of Maryland and Washington, D.C. Compiled by Gary W. Parks. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1986. 274 pp. \$25.00.

The compiler has produced an extremely helpful guide to locating heads of families in the 1820 Census of Maryland and Washington, D.C. The names are arranged in columns, showing the name of the head of the household, the county, and page number. Two tables at the beginning of the work advise the reader first of the abbreviations of county names and the microfilm roll number, and second of the contents of each roll, including notes on the page numbers used and the divisions of the district (wards for the city, and districts for the counties). Mr. Parks' famil-

ilarity with Maryland genealogy has ensured that his transcription of the names are as accurate as possible, although in the Note to the Reader he warns that names were sometimes written phonetically, and that the researcher must consult variations in spelling. The book is a must for Maryland libraries and researchers.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall, Md.

A Partial View of the Beasman-Baseman Family of Maryland. By Catherine C. Hiatt, for the Fairhaven Committee on the Beasman Family. (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1986.) xviii, 133 pp. Appendices, index, illustrations. \$19.95 plus \$1.00 postage and handling.

The book traces descendants of Joseph Beasman to the seventh generation, with each chapter giving a full biographical account of the family members included. The author has used wills, land records, church registers, vestry proceedings, newspaper accounts, and other records to put together a very well-done account of the family. The usefulness of the book is enhanced by photographs of family members, old homes, maps and plats of the various land grants. Kathleen F. Field, George J. Horvath, Jr., and Orlando V. Wootten contributed to the book, which concludes with a chart of Beasman descendants. There are twenty-nine items in the appendix including full transcriptions of ten Beasman wills, various other items drawn from obituaries, administration accounts, tax lists and land grants. The reviewer only wishes there was a full name index to the book. Nevertheless, family members and libraries will want to have this book in their collections.

ROBERT BARNES
Perry Hall, Md.

NEWS AND NOTICES

FALL AND WINTER CALENDAR AT HISTORIC ST. MARY'S CITY

From now until the end of November Historic St. Mary's City in Southern Maryland is celebrating the harvest season at its outdoor history museum. The work and everyday lives of seventeenth-century Tidewater Chesapeake settlers are recreated for the visiting public at exhibits such as the Godiah Spray Tobacco Plantation, the Old State House, Farthing's Ordinary (inn), and the square-rigged ship, the *Maryland Dove*. The museum is open from 10 to 5, Wednesday through Sunday until November 30. Admission is \$3.00 for adults, \$2.00 for senior citizens, and \$1.50 for children (6-12). Historic St. Mary's City is located on Route 5, approximately two hours south of the Washington metropolitan area. Call (301) 862-0990 for more information.

OCTOBER 18 & 19

Harvest Home at the Godiah Spray Tobacco Plantation.

The family and indentured servants at this seventeenth-century tobacco plantation recreate the harvesting of the crops. Hearth cooking and period music are featured. Christmas Madrigal Evenings at the Old State House.

DECEMBER 5-7 and 12-14

Candlelight festivities with feasting and wassailing take place in the brick State House at Maryland's first capital. Costumed performers will entertain guests with madrigals and motets. The State House is completely decorated in greens, holly, and decorations of the season for this event now in its 15th year.

Reservations are required. Telephone (301) 862-0960.

CONSTITUTION ESSAY CONTEST

The Department of History, University of Texas at Arlington announces the 1987 Webb-Smith Essay Competition, a \$500 award for the best essay of 10,000 words or less on the topic "Liberty and the Origins of the Constitution." The winning essay will be submitted for publication as part of Volume Twenty-two of the Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures Series published by Texas A&M University Press. Manuscripts for 1987 judging must be submitted by February 1, 1987. For submittal forms and additional information write The Walter Prescott Webb Memorial Lectures Committee, Department of History, Box 19529, University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, Texas 76019.

MARYLAND CHURCH RECORDS PROJECT

Information on location and availability of Maryland church records, copies of records and indices, is being sought by the Maryland Church Records Committee of the Genealogical Council of Maryland. Over 2,300 church record survey forms containing such information have been completed. Copies of the forms have been placed in binders at the Maryland Historical Society Library for use by researchers. The plan is to compile a guide or directory to Maryland church records, for eventual publication.

Volunteers are needed to help in gathering information. Please contact Edna Kanely, 3210 Chesterfield Ave., Baltimore, MD 21213, Chairman of the Maryland Church Records Project.

MHM PRIZE AWARDED TO DR. W. EDWARD ORSER

The first annual prize for the best article appearing in the pages of *Maryland Historical Magazine* has been awarded to Dr. W. Edward Orser for "The Making of a Baltimore Row-house Community: The Edmondson Avenue Area, 1915-1945," appearing in the Fall 1985 issue. The article was judged by a panel of

scholars and laypersons to have been the year's best in both contribution to scholarship and general interest. The prize carries an award of \$350. Dr. Orser teaches in the American Studies Department of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County.

Readers of the *Magazine* are encouraged to write to the prize committee in care of *Maryland Historical Magazine* (201 W. Monument

Street, Baltimore, MD 21201) to nominate deserving articles from 1986 issues.

CORRECTION

The article "Trouble on the Chain Gang" (*Maryland Historical Magazine* 81 (Spring 1986)) incorrectly referred to Joseph Biay. The name should have read *Biays*. We regret the error.

MARYLAND PICTURE PUZZLE

Each installment of the Maryland Picture Puzzle presents a photograph from the collection of the Prints and Photographs Division of the Maryland Historical Society Library. Test your knowledge of Maryland's past by identifying this street scene in Baltimore and the date it was taken. The photograph was published as a stereoview by W. M. Chase. What monument is depicted here and what is its location? Send your response to the puzzle to:


Prints and Photographs Division
Maryland Historical Society Library
201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

The Summer 1986 Picture Puzzle showed the 400 and 500 Blocks of East Baltimore Street, circa 1890. The photograph is part of the Glass Negative Collection of the Society.

Congratulations to John Riggs Orrick who submitted a correct response to the Spring 1986 Picture Puzzle depicting Lexington and Park Avenue, circa 1915. We look forward to receiving your puzzle solutions soon.



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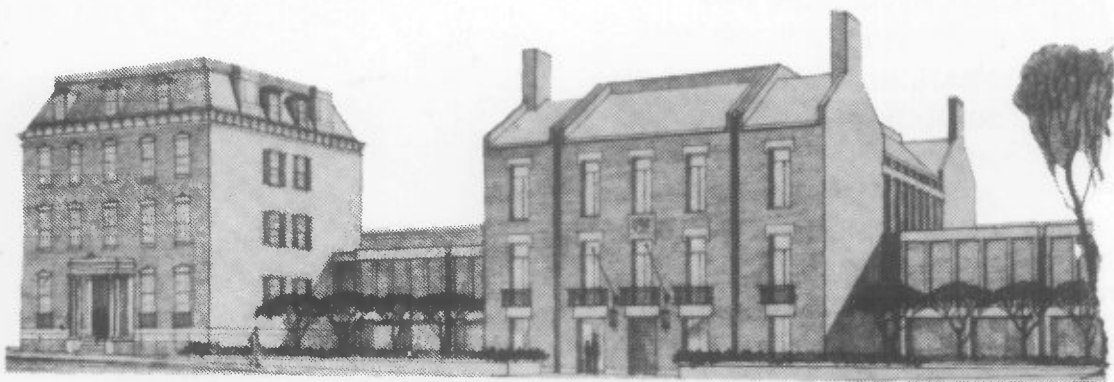
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